AN ACCOUNT OF THE GROWTH OF POPERY, AND Arbitrary GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

More Particularly from the Long *Prorogation*, of *November*, 1675, Ending the 15*th*. of *February*, 1676, till the Laſt Meeting of *Parliament*, the 16*th*. of *July*, 1677.

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POPERY,

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ENGLAND, &c.

THere has now for divers Years, a Deſign been carried on, to change the Lawful Government of *England* into an Abſolute Tyranny, and to Convert the Eſtabliſhed *Proteſtant Religion* into down-right *Popery*: than both which, nothing can be more Deſtructive or contrary to the Intereſt and Happineſs, to the Conſtitution and Being of the King and Kingdom.

For if we firſt conſider the State, the Kings of *England* Rule not upon the ſame terms with thoſe of our Neighbour Nations, who, having by Force or by Addreſs Uſurped that due ſhare which there People had in the Government, are now for ſome Ages in poſſeſſion of an Arbitrary Power (which yet no Preſcription can make Legal) and Exerciſe it over their Perſons and Eſtates in a moſt Tyrannical manner. But here the Subjects retain their proportion in the Legiſlature; the very meaneſt Commoner of *England* is repreſented in *Parliament*, and is a party to thoſe Laws by which the Prince is Sworn to Govern himſelf and his People. No Money is to be Levied but by the common conſent. No man is for *Life*, *Limb*, *Goods*, *or Liberty* at the Sovereigns Diſcretion: But we have the ſame Right (modeſtly underſtood) *in our Propriety* that the Prince hath *in his Regality*; and in all Caſes where the King is concerned, we have our juſt Remedy as againſt any private Perſon of the Neighbour-hood, in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*-Hall, or in the High Court of *Parliament*. His very Prerogative is no more than what the Law has determined. His Broad Seal, which is the Legitimate ſtamp of his Pleaſure, yet is no longer currant, than upon the Tryal it is found to be Legal. He cannot commit any Perſon by his particular Warrant. He cannot himſelf be Witneſs in any Cauſe: The Balance of Publick Juſtice being ſo delicate, that not the head only, but even the breath of the Prince would turn the Scale. Nothing is left to the Kings will, but all is Subjected to his Authority: by which means it follows that he can do no wrong, nor can he receive wrong; and a King of *England*, keeping to theſe meaſures, may without arrogance be ſaid to remain the onely Intelligent Ruler over a Rational people. In recompenſe therefore and acknowledgment of ſo good a Government under his Influence, his Perſon is moſt Sacred and Inviolable; and whatſoever Exceſſes are committed againſt ſo High a Truſt, nothing of them is imputed to him, as being free from the Neceſſity or Temptation, but his Miniſters

only are Accountable for all, and muſt anſwer it their perils. He hath a vaſt Revenue conſtantly ariſing from the Hearth of the Houſhoulder, the Sweat of the Labourers, the Rent of the Farmer, the Induſtry of the Merchant, and conſequently out of the Eſtate of the Gentleman. a large competence to defray the ordinary expenſe of the Crown, and maintain its luſtre. And if any extraordinary Occaſion happen, or be but with any probable decency pretended, the whole Land at whatſoever Seaſon of the Year does yield him a plentiful Harveſt. So forward are his Peoples Affections to give, even to ſuperfluity, that a Forainer (or *Engliſh-man* that hath been long abroad) would think they could neither will nor chuſe, but that the asking of a Supply, were a meer formality, it is ſo readily granted. He is the Fountain of all Honours, and has moreover the diſtribution of ſo many profitable Offices, of the Houſhold, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, of the Navy (and, ſince his preſent *Majeſties* time, of the Army) that it ſeems as if the Nation could ſcarce furniſh honeſt Men enow to ſupply all thoſe Imployments. So that the Kings of *England* are in nothing Inferiour to other Princes, ſave in being more abridged from Injuring their own Subjects: But have as large a Field as any of external Felicity, wherein to exerciſe their own Vertue, and ſo reward and incourage it in others. In ſhort, there is nothing that comes nearer in Government to the Divine perfection, than where the Monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a diſability to all that is evil.

And as we are thus happy in the Conſtitution of our State, ſo are we yet more bleſſed in that of our Church; being free from that *Romiſh Yoak*, which ſo great a part of Chriſtendome do yet draw and labour under, That *Popery* is ſuch a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to expreſs it, be called *a Religion*: nor is it to be mentioned with what civility which is otherwiſe decent to be uſed, in ſpeaking of the differences of humane Opinion about Divine Matters. Were it either open Judaiſm, or plain Turkery, or honeſt Paganiſm, there is yet a certain *Bona fides* in the moſt extravagant Belief, and the ſincerity of an erroneous Profeſſion may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatſoever is moſt ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated with more peculiar abſurdities of its own, in which thoſe were deficient; and all this deliberately contrived, knowingly carried on by the bold Impoſture of Prieſts under the Name of Chriſtianity. The wiſdom of this fifth Religion, this laſt and Inſolenteſt attempt upon the credulity of mankind ſeems to me (though not ignorant otherwiſe of the times, degrees and methods of its progreſs) principally to have conſiſted in their owning the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and the Rule of Faith and Manners, but in prohibiting at the ſame time their common uſe, or the reading of them in publick Churches but in a *Latine* Tranſlation to the Vulgar: there being no better or more rational way to fruſtrate the very Deſign of the great Inſtitutor of Chriſtianity, who firſt planted it by the extraordinary gift of Tongues, than to forbid the uſe even of the ordinary Languages. For having thus a Book which is univerſally avowed to be of Divine Authority, but ſequeſtring it only into ſuch hands as were intruſted in the Cheat, they had the opportunity to vitiate, ſuppreſs, or interpret to their own profit thoſe Records by which the poor people hold their Salvation. And this neceſſary point being once gained, there was thence-forward nothing ſo Monſtrous to Reaſon, ſo abhorring from Morality, or ſo contrary to Scripture which they might not in prudence adventure on. The Idolatry (for alas, it is neither better nor worſe) of adoring and praying to Saints and Angels, of Worſhipping Pictures, Images, and Reliques, Incredible Miracles, and palpable Fables to promote that Veneration. The whole Liturgy and Worſhip of the Bleſſed Virgin. The ſaying of *Pater Noſters* and Creeds, to the honour of Saints, and of *Ave Mary's* too, not to her honour, but of others. The Publick Service, which

which they can ſpare to God among ſo many Competitors, in an unknown tongue; and intangled with ſuch Veſtments, *Conſecrations*, *Exorciſmes*, *Whiſperings*, *ſprinklings*, *Cenſings*, *and Phantaſtical Rites*, *Geſticulations*, and Removals, ſo unbeſeeming a Chriſtian Office, that it repreſents rather the pranks and Ceremonies of *Juglers* and *Conjurers*. The Refuſal of the *Cup* to the *Laity*. The Neceſſity of the Prieſts Intention to make any of their Sacraments effectual. Debarring their Clergy from Marriage. Interdicting of *Meats*, *Auricular Confeſſion and Abſolution*, as with them practiſed. *Penances*, *Pilgrimages*, *Purgatory*, *and Prayer for the Dead*. But above all their other Devices, that *Tranſubſtantial ſolaciſm*, whereby that glorified Body, which at the ſame time they allow to be in Heaven, is *is ſold again*, and *Crucified daily* upon all the *Altars* of their Communion. For God indeed may now and then do a *Miracle*, but a *Romiſh Prieſt* can, it ſeems, work in one moment *a thouſand Impoſſibilities*. Thus by a new and Anti-ſcriptural Belief, compiled of Terrours to the Phanſy, Contradictions to Senſe, and Impoſitions on the Underſtanding, *their Laity* have *turned Tenants for their Souls*, and in conſequence Tributary for their Eſtates to a more *than Omnipotent Prieſt-hood*.

I muſt indeed do them that right, to avow, that out of an equitable conſideration and recompenſe of ſo faithful a Slavery, they have diſcharged the People from all other Services and dependance, infranchiſed them *from all Duty to God or Man*; inſomuch that their ſeverer and more Learned Divines, their *Governours of Conſcience*, have ſo well Inſtructed them in all the Arts of Circumventing their Neighbour, and of colluding with Heaven, that, were the Scholars as apt as their Teachers, there would have been long ſince an end of all, either true Piety, or common Honeſty; and nothing left among them but *Authorized Hypocriſie*, *Licentiouſneſs*, and *Knavery*; had not the Natural worth of the better ſort, and the Good ſimplicity of the meaner, in great meaſure preſerved them. For nothing indeed but an extraordinary temper and Ingenuity of Spirit, and that too aſſiſted by a Diviner influence, could poſſibly reſtrain thoſe within any the termes or Laws of Humanity, who at the ſame time own the Doctrine of their Caſuiſts, or the Authority of the Pope, as it is by him claimed and exerciſed. He by his Indulgences delivers Souls out of the pains of the other World: So that who would refuſe to be *vicious here*, upon ſo good *Security*. He by his Diſpenſation annuls Contracts betwixt Man and Man, diſſolves *Oaths between Princes*, or *betwixt them and their People*, and gives allowance in caſes which God and Nature prohibits. He, as Clerk of the Spiritual Market, hath ſet a rate upon all Crimes: the more flagitious they are and *abominable*, the *better Commodities*, and men pay onely an *higher price*, as for *greater Rarities*. So that it ſeems as if the commands of God had been invented meerly to erect an Office for the Pope; the *worſe Chriſtians men are*, the *better Cuſtomers*; and this *Rome* does by the ſame policy people its Church, as the Pagan *Rome* did the City, by *opening a Sanctuary* to all *Malefactors*. And why not, if his power be indeed of ſuch virtue and extent as is by him challenged? That he is the Ruler over Angels, Purgatory, and Hell. That his Tribunal and Gods are all one. That all that God, he can do, *Clave non errante*, and what he does is as God and not as Man. That he is the *Univerſal Head* of the *Church*, The *ſole Interpreter of Scripture*, and Judge of Controverſie. That he is *above General Councils*. That his power is Abſolute, and his Decrees *Infallible*. That he can change the very Nature of things, making what is *Juſt* to be *Unjuſt*, and what is *Vice* to be *Virtue*. That all Laws are in the Cabinet of his Breaſt. That he can Diſpence with the New Teſtament. That he is Monarch of this World, and that he can diſpoſe of Kingdoms and Empires as he pleaſes. Which things being granted, that ſtile of *Optimum*, *Maximum & ſupremum numen in terris*, or that of *Dominus noſter*, *Papa*, was no ſuch extraordinary ſtroke of Courtſhip as we reckoned:

but it was rather a great Clowniſhneſs in him that Treated ſo *Mighty* a *Prince* under the ſimple Title of *Vice-Deus*. The exerciſe of his Dominion is in all points ſuitable to this his pretence. He antiquates the *Precepts* of *Chriſt* as things only of good advice, not commanded: but makes it a Mortal ſin even to doubt of any part of his own Religion, and demands, under *pain of Damnation*, the Subjection of all Chriſtians to his Papal Authority: the denying of two things ſo reaſonable as blind Obedience to his power, and an Implicite Faith to his Doctrine, being the moſt unpardonable crime, under his Diſpenſation. He has indeed of late been ſomewhat more retentive than formerly as to his faculty of diſpoſing of Kingdomes, the thing not having ſucceeded ſo well with him in ſome inſtances: but he lays the ſame claim ſtill, continues the ſame inclination, and though Velvet-headed hath the more itch to be puſhing. And however in order to any occaſion he keeps himſelf in breath always by curſing one Prince or other upon every Maunday Thurſday: Nor is there any, whether Prince or Nation, that diſſents from *his Uſurpations*, but are *marked* out under the notion of *Hereticks* to Ruine and Deſtruction whenſoever he ſhall give the Signal. That word of *Hereſie* miſapplyed, hath ſerved him for ſo many Ages to Juſtified all the *Executions*, *Aſſaſſinations*, *Wars*, *Maſſacres*, and *Devaſtations*, whereby his Faith hath been propagated; of which our times alſo have not wanted Examples, and more is to be expected for the future. For by how much any thing is more falſe and unreaſonable, it requires more cruelty to to eſtabliſh it: and to introduce that which is abſurd, there muſt be ſomewhat done that is Barbarous. But nothing of any Sect in Rellgion can be more recommended by all theſe qualities than the Papacy. The *Pagans* are excuſable by their Natural darkneſs, without Revelation. The *Jews* are tolerable, who ſee not beyond the Old Teſtament. *Mahomet* was ſo honeſt as to own what he would be at, that he himſelf was the greateſt Prophet, and that his was a Religion of the Sword. So that theſe were all, as I may ſay, of another Allegiance, and if Enemies, yet not Traytors: But the *Pope avowing Chriſtianity* by profeſſion, doth in Doctrine and practiſe renounce it: and preſuming to be the only Catholick, does perſecute thoſe to the death who dare Worſhip the Author of their Religion inſtead of his pretended Vice-gerent.

And yet there is nothing more evident, notwithſtanding his moſt notorious forgeries and falſification of all Writers, than that the Pope was for ſeveral hundred of Years an honeſt Biſhop as other men are, and never ſo much as dreamed upon the Seven Hills of that Univerſal power which he is now come to: Nay, was the firſt that oppſed any ſuch pretenſion. But ſome of them at laſt, growing wiſer, by foiſting a counterfeit Donation of *Conſtantine*, and wreſting another Donation from our Saviour, advanced themſelves in a weak, ignorant, and credulous Age, to that Temporal and Spiritual Principality that they are now ſeized of. *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.* Never was a Biſhoprick and a Verſe of Scripture ſo improved by good managementt. Thus, by exerciſing in the quality of Chriſts Vicar the publick function under an inviſible Prince, the Pope, like the Maires of the Palace, hath ſet his Maſter aſide, and delivered the Government over to a new Line of Papal Succeſſion. But who can, unleſs wilfully, be ignorant what wretched doings, what Bribery, what Ambition there are, how long the Church is without an Head upon every Vacancy, till among the crew of bandying Cardinals the Holy Ghoſt have declared for a Pope of the *French* or *Spaniſh* Faction. It is a Succeſſion like that of the *Egyptian Ox* (the living Idol of that Country.) who dying, or being made away by the Prieſts, there was a Solemn and general Mourning for want of a Deity; untill in their Conclave they had found out another Beaſt with the very ſame marks as the former, whom then they themſelves adored, and with great Jubilee brought forth to the people to Worſhip. Nor was that Election a groſſer

Reproach

Reproach to Humane Reaſon than this is alſo to Chriſtianity. Surely it is the greateſt Miracle of the *Romiſh* Church that it ſhould ſtill continue, and that in all this time the Gates of Heaven ſhould not prevail againſt it.

It is almoſt unconceivable how Princes can yet ſuffer a power *ſo pernicious*, and *Doctrine ſo deſtructive* to all Government. That ſo a great part of the Land ſhould be alienated and condemned to, as they call it, Pious Uſes. That ſuch Millions of their people as the Clergy, ſhould, by remaining unmarried, either fruſtrate Humane Nature if they live *Chaſtly*; or, if otherwiſe, *Adulterate it*. That they ſhould be priviledged from all Labour, all publick Service, and exempt from the power of all Secular Juriſdiction. That they, being all bound, by *ſtrict Oaths and Vows of Obedience* to the *Pope*, ſhould evacuate the Fealty due to the Soveraign. Nay, that not only the Clergy, but their whole people, if of the *Romiſh* perſwaſion, ſhould be Obliged to *Rebel* at any time upon the *Popes* pleaſure. And yet how many of the *Neighbouring Princes* are content, or do chuſe to Reign, upon thoſe conditions; which being ſo diſhonourable and dangerous, ſurely ſome great and more weighty Reaſon does cauſe them to ſubmit to. Whether it be out of perſonal fear, having heard, perhaps, of ſeveral Attempts which the blind Obedience of *Popiſh Zelotes* hath executed againſt the Princes. Or, whether aiming at a more Abſolute and Tyrannical Government, they think it ſtill to be the caſe of *Boniface* and *Phocas* (an Uſurping Emperour, and an Uſurping Biſhop) and that, as other cheats, this alſo is beſt to be managed by Confederacy. But, as far as I can apprehend, there is more of ſloth than policy on the Princes ſide in this whole matter: and all that pretence of inſlaving Men by the aſſiſtance of Religion more eaſily, is neither more nor leſs than when the *Bramine*, by having the firſt Night of the Bride, aſſures himſelf of her Devotion for the future, and makes her more fit for the Husband.

This Reflection upon the ſtate of our Neighbours, in aſpect to Religion, doth ſufficiently Illuſtrate our Happineſs, and ſpare me the labour of deſcribing it further, than by the Rule of contraries: Our Church ſtanding upon all points in a direct Oppoſition to all the fore-mentioned Errors. Our Doctrine being true to the Principles of the firſt Chriſtian Inſtitution, and Epiſcopacy being formed upon the Primitive Model, and no Eccleſiſtical power joſtling the Civil, but all concurring in common Obedience to the Soveraign. Nor therefore is there any, whether Prince or Nation, that can with leſs probability be reduced back to the *Romiſh* perſwaſion, than ours of *England*.

For, if we reſpect our Obedience to God, what appearance is there, that after ſo durable and general an enlightning of our minds with the Sacred Truth, we ſhould again put out our own Eyes, to wander thorow the palpable darkneſs of that groſs Superſtition? But foraſmuch as moſt Men are leſs concern'd for their Intereſt in Heaven than on Earth, this ſeeming the nearer and more certain, on this account alſo our alteration from the *Proteſtant Religion* is the more impoſſible. When beſide the common ill Examples and conſequences of *Popery* obſervable abroad, whereby we might grow wiſe at the Expence of our Neighbours, we cannot but reflect upon our own Experiments at home, which would make even Fools docible. The whole Reign of *Queen Mary*, in which the *Papiſts* made Fewel of the *Proteſtants*. The Excommunicating and Deprivation of *Queen Elizabeth* by the *Pope*, purſued with ſo many Treaſons and Attempts upon her Perſon, by her own Subjects, and the Invaſion in *Eighty-eight* by the *Spaniſh*. The two *Breves* of the *Pope*, in Order to exclude King *James* from the Succeſſion to the Crown, ſeconded by the *Gun-powder Treaſon*. In the

time of his late Majeſty, King *Charles* the Firſt (beſides what they contributed to the Civil War in *England*) the Rebellion and Horrid Maſſacre in *Ireland*, and, which was even worſe than that, their pretending that it was done by the Kings Commiſſion, and vouching the *Broad Seal* for their Authority. The *Popes Nuncio* aſſuming nevertheleſs, and exerciſing there the Temporal as well as Spiritual Power, granting out Commiſſions under his own Hand, breaking the Treaties of Peace between the King, and, as they then ſtyled themſelves, the *Confederate Catholicks*; heading two Armies againſt the *Marqueſs* of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, and forcing him at laſt to quit the Kingdom: All which ended in the Ruine of His Majeſties Reputation, Government, and Perſon; which but upon the occaſion of that Rebellion, could never have happened. So that we may reckon the Reigns of our late Princes, by a Succeſſion of the *Popiſh Treaſons* againſt them. And, if under His preſent Majeſty we have as yet ſeen no more viſible effects of the ſame Spirit than the *Firing* of *London* (acted by *Hubert*, Hired by *Pieddelon* two *French-men*) which remains a Controverſie, it is not to be attributed to the good Nature or better Principles of that Sect, but to the Wiſdom of his *Holyneſs*; who obſerves that we are not of late ſo dangerous *Proteſtants*, as to deſerve any ſpecial *mark* of his *Indignation*, but that we may be made better uſe of to the weakning of thoſe that are of our own Religion, and that if he do not diſturb us, there are thoſe among our ſelves, that are leading us into a fair way of Reconciliation with him.

But thoſe continued freſh Inſtances, in relation to the Crown, together with the *Popes* claim of the Temporal and immediate Dominion of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which he does ſo challenge, are a ſufficient caution to the Kings of *England*, and of the People, there is as little hopes to ſeduce them, the *Proteſtant Religion* being ſo interwoven as it is with their Secular Intereſt. For the Lands that were formerly given to Superſtitious Uſes, having firſt been applyed to the Publick Revenue, and afterwards by ſeveral Alienations and Contracts diſtributed into private poſſeſſion, the alteration of Religion would neceſſarily introduce a change of Property. *Nullum tempus occurrit Eccleſiæ*, it would make a general Earth-quake over the Nation, and even now the *Romiſh* Clergy on the other ſide of the Water, ſnuff up the ſavoury Odour of ſo many Rich *Abbies* and *Monaſteries* that belonged to their Predeceſſors. Hereby no conſiderable Eſtate in *England* but muſt have a piece torn out of it upon the Title of Piety, and the reſt ſubject to be wholly forfeited upon the Account of *Hereſie*. Another *Chimney-mony* of the old *Peter-pence* muſt again be payed, as Tribute to the Pope, beſide that which is eſtabliſhed on His Majeſty: and the People, inſtead of thoſe moderate Tithes that are with too much difficulty payed to their Proteſtant Paſtors, will be expoſed to all the evactions of the Court of *Rome*, and a thouſand Artifices by which in former times they were uſed to drain away the Wealth of ours more than any other Nation. So that in concluſion, there is no *Engliſh-man* that hath *a Soul*, *a Body*, or an *Eſtate to ſave*, that *Loves* either *God*, his *King*, or his *Countrey*, but is by all thoſe *Tenures bound*, to the beſt of his *Power* and *Knowledge*, to maintain the Eſtabliſhed *Proteſtant Religion*.

And yet, all this notwithſtanding, there are thoſe Men among us, who have undertaken, and do make it their buſineſs, under ſo Legal and perfect a Government, to introduce a *French Slavery*, and inſtead of ſo pure a Religion, to eſtabliſh the *Roman Idolatry*: Both and either of which are crimes of the Higheſt Nature. For, as to matter of Government, if to Murther the King be, as certainly it is, a Fact ſo Horrid, how much more hainous is it to aſſaſſinate the Kingdom? And as none will deny, that to alter our *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth* were *Treaſon*; ſo by the ſame Fundamental Rule, the Crime is no leſs, to make that *Monarchy Abſolute*.

What

What is thus true, in regard of the State, holds as well in reference to our Religion, former Parliaments have made it Treaſon in whoſoever ſhall attempt to ſeduce any one the meaneſt of the King's Subjects to the Church of *Rome*, and this Parliament, hath, to all Penalties by the Common or Statute Law, added incapacity for any man who ſhall preſume to ſay that the King is a Papiſt or an Introducer of Popery. But what lawleſs and incapable miſcreants then, what wicked Traytors are thoſe wretched men, who endeavour to pervert our whole Church, and to bring that about in effect, which even to mention is penal, at one *Italian* ſtroke attempting to ſubvert the Government and Religion, to kill the Body and damn the Soul of our Nation.

Yet were theſe men honeſt old Cavaliers that had ſuffered in his late Majeſties Service, it were allowable in them, as oft as their wounds brake out at Spring or Fall, to think of a more Arbitrary Government, as a ſoveraign Balſom for their Aches, or to imagine that no Weapon-Salve but of the Moſs that grows on an Enemies Skull could cure them. Should they miſtake this Long *Parliament* alſo for Rebels, and that, although all Circumſtances be altered, there were ſtill the ſame neceſſity to fight it all over again in pure Loyalty, yet their Age and the Times they have lived in, might excuſe them. But thoſe worthy Gentlemen are too Generous, too good Chriſtians and Subjects, too affectionate to the good *Engliſh* Government, to be capable of ſuch an Impreſſion. Whereas thoſe Conſpirators are ſuch as have not one drop of *Cavalier Blood*, or no *Bowels* at leaſt of a *Cavalier* in them; but have ſtarved them, to Revel and Surfeit upon their Calamities, making their Perſons, and the very Cauſe by pretending to it themſelves, almoſt Ridiculous.

Or, were theſe *Conſpirators* on the other ſide but avowed *Papiſts*, they were the more honeſt, the leſs dangerous, and the Religion were anſwerable for the Errors they might commit in order to promote it. Who is there but muſt acknowledge, if he do not commend the Ingenuity (or by what better Name I may call it) of Sir *Thomas Strickland*, Lord *Bellaſis*, the late Lord *Clifford* and others, eminent in their ſeveral ſtations? Theſe, having ſo long appeared the moſt zealous Sons of our Church, yet, as ſoon as the late Teſt againſt Popery was enacted, took up the Croſs, quitted their preſent Imployments and all hopes of the future, rather than fallifie their opinion: though otherwiſe men for Quality, Eſtate and Abilities whether in War or Peace, as capable and well deſerving (without diſparagement) as others that have the art to continue in Offices. And above all, his Royal Highneſs is to be admired for his unparallelled magnanimity on the ſame account: there being in all hiſtory perhaps no Record of any Prince that ever changed his Religion in his circumſtances. But theſe perſons, that have ſince taken the work in hand, are ſuch as lie under no temptation of Religion: ſecure men, that are above either Honour or Conſciences; but obliged by all the moſt ſacred tyes of Malice and Ambition to advance the ruine of the King and Kingdom, and qualified much better than others, under the name of good Proteſtants, to effect it.

And becauſe it was yet difficult to find Complices enough at home, that were ripe for ſo black a deſign, but they wanted a Back for their Edge; therefore they applyed themſelves to *France*, that King being indowed with all thoſe qualities, which in a Prince, may paſs for Virtues; but in any private man, would be capital; and moreover ſo abounding in wealth that no man elſe could go to the price of their wickedneſs: To which Conſiderations, adding that he is Maſter of *Abſolute Dominion*, the *Preſumptive Monarch* of *Chriſtendom*, the declared *Champion* of *Popery*, and the hereditary, natural, inveterate *Enemy* of our *King* and *Nation*, he was in all reſpects the moſt likely (of all Earthly Powers) to reward and ſupport them in a Project every way ſuitable to his own Inclination and Intereſt.

And now, ſhould I enter into a particular retail of all former and latter Tranſactions, relating to this Affair, there would be ſufficient for a juſt Volume of Hiſtory. But my intention is only to write a naked Narrative of ſome the moſt conſiderable paſſages in the meeting of *Parliament* the 15 of *Febr.* 1676. Such as have come to my notice, which may ſerve for matter to ſome ſtronger Pen, and to ſuch as have more leiſure and opportunity to diſcover and communicate to the Publick. This in the mean time will by the progreſs made in ſo few weeks, demonſtrate at what rate theſe men drive over the necks of King and People, of Religion and Government; and how near they are in all humane probability to arrive Triumphant at the end of their Journey. Yet, that I may not be too abrupt, and leave the Reader wholly deſtitute of a thread to guide himſelf by thorow ſo intriguing a Labyrinth, I ſhall ſummarily as ſhort, as ſo copious and redundant a matter will admit, deduce the order of Affairs both at home and abroad, as it led into this Seſſion.

It is well known, were it as well remembred, what the provocation was, and what the ſucceſs of the War begun by the *Engliſh* in the Year 1665, againſt *Holland*: what vaſt ſupplyes were furniſhed by the Subject for defraying it, and yet after all, no Fleet ſet out, but the Flower of all the Royal Navy burnt or taken in Port to ſave charges. How the *French*, during that War, joyned themſelves in aſſiſtance of *Holland* againſt us, and yet, by the credit he had with the Queen Mother, ſo far deluded his Majeſty, that upon aſſurance the *Dutch* neither would have any Fleet out that year, he forbore to make ready,

and ſo incurred that notable loſs, and diſgrace at *Chatham*. How (after this fatal concluſion of all our Sea-*Champaynes*) as we had been obliged to the *French* for that War, ſo we were glad to receive the Peace from his favour which was agreed at *Breda* betwixt *England*, *France* and *Holland*.

His Majeſty was hereby now at leiſure to remark how the *French* had in the year 166-, taken the time of us, and while we are imbroiled and weakned, had, in violation of all the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Oaths and Treaties, invaded and taken a great part of the *Spaniſh Nether-Land*, which had always been conſidered as the natural Frontier of *England*. And hereupon he judged it neceſſary to interpoſe, before the flame that conſumed his next Neighbour ſhould throw its ſparkles over the Water. And therefore, generouſly ſlighting all punctilios of Ceremony, or peeks of Animoſity, where the ſafety of his People, and the repoſe of Chriſtendom were concerned, he ſent firſt into *Holland*, inviting them to a nearer Alliance, and enter into ſuch further Counſels as were moſt proper to quiet this publick diſturbance which the *French* had raiſed. This was a work wholly of his Majeſties Deſigning and (according to that felicity which hath always attended him, when excluding the corrupt Politicks of others, he hath followed the dictates of his own Royal Wiſdom) ſo well it ſucceeded. It is a thing ſcarce credible, though true, that two Treaties of ſuch weight, intricacy, and ſo various aſpect as that of the Defenſive League with *Holland*, and the other for repreſſing the further progreſs of the *French* in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, ſhould in five days time, in the year 1668 be concluded. Such was the Expedition and Secreſie then uſed in proſecuting his Majeſties particular inſtructions, and ſo eaſie a thing is it for Princes, when they have a mind to it, to be well ſerved. The *Swede* too ſhortly after, made the third in this Conſort; whether wiſely judging that in the minority of their King, reigning over ſeveral late acquired Dominions, it was their true intereſt to have an hand in all the Councils that tended to peace and undiſturbed poſſeſſion, or, whether indeed thoſe Miniſters, like ours, did even then project in ſo glorious an Alliance to betray it afterward to their own greater advantage. From their joyning in it, it was called the Triple Alliance. His Majeſty with great ſincerity continued to ſolicit other Princes according to the ſeventh Article to come into the Guaranty of this Treaty, and delighted himſelf in cultivating by all good means what he had planted. But in a very ſhort time theſe Counſels, which had taken effect with ſo great ſatisfaction to the Nation, and to his Majeſties eternal Honour, were all changed, and it ſeemed that Treaties, as ſoon as the Wax is cold, do loſe their Virtue. The King in *June* 1670 went down to *Dover* to meet, after a long abſence, *Madam*, his only remaining Siſter: where the days were the more pleaſant, by how much it ſeldomer happens to Princes than private perſons to enjoy their Relations, and when they do, yet their kind interviews are uſually ſolemnized with ſome fatality and diſaſter, nothing of which here appeared. But upon her firſt return into *France* ſhe was dead, the Marqueſs of *Belfonds* was immediately ſent hither; a perſon of great Honour diſpatched thither: and, before ever the enquiry and grumbling at her death could be abated, in a trice there was an inviſible League, in prejudice of the Triple one, ſtruck up with *France*, to all the height of Dearneſs and Affection. As if upon diſſecting the Princeſs there had ſome State-Philtre been found in her Bowels, or the reconciliation with *France* were not to be celebrated with a leſs ſacrifice than of the Blood Royal of *England*. The ſequel will be ſuitable to ſo ominous a beginning. But, as this Treaty was a work of Darkneſs, and which could never yet be underſtood or diſcovered but by the effects, ſo before thoſe appeared it was neceſſary that the Parliament ſhould after the old wont, be gulled to the giving of Money. They met the 24th *Octob.* 1670. and it is not without much labour that I have been able to recover a written Copy of the Lord *Bridgman*'s ſpeech, none being Printed, but forbidden, doubtleſs leſt ſo notorious a Practice as certainly was never before, though there have indeed been many, put upon the Nation, might remain publick. Although that Honourable Perſon cannot be preſumed to have been acceſſary to what was then intended, but was in due time, when the Project riponed and grew hopeful, diſcharged from his Office, and he, the Duke of *Ormond*, the late Secretary *Trevor*, with the Prince *Rupert*, diſcarded together out of the Committee for the *Foreign* Affairs. He ſpoke thus:

My

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons.

When the two Houſes were laſt Adjourned, this Day, as you well know, was prefixed for your Meeting again. The Proclamation ſince iſſued requiring all your attendances at the ſame time ſhewed not only his Majeſties belief that his buſineſs will thrive beſt when the Houſes are fulleſt, but the importance alſo of the Affairs for which you are ſo called: and important they are. You cannot be ignorant of the great Forces both for Land and Sea-ſervice which our Neighbours of France *and the* Low-Countries *have now raiſed, and have now in actual Pay: nor of the great Preparations which they continue to make in Levying of Men, Building of Ships, filling their Magazines and Stores with immenſe quantities of all ſorts of warlike Proviſions. Since the beginning of the laſt* Dutch *War, the* French *have increaſed the Greatneſs and Number of their Ships ſo much, that their Strength by Sea is thrice as much as it was before. And ſince the end of it, the* Dutch *have been very diligent alſo in augmenting their Fleets. In this conjuncture, when our Neighbours Arm ſo potently, even common prudence requires that his Majeſty ſhould make ſome ſuitable preparations; that he may at leaſt keep pace with his* Neighbours, *if not out-go them in* Number *and* Strength *of* Shipping. *For this being an* Iſland, *both our* Safety, *our* Trade, *our* Being, *and our* Well-Being *depend upon our* Forces *at* Sea.

His Majeſty *therefore, of his* Princely Care *for the* Good of his People, *hath given order for the fitting out of* Fifty Sayl *of his* Greateſt Ships, *againſt the* Spring, *beſides thoſe which are to be for* Security *of our* Merchants *in the* Mediterranean: *As foreſeeing, if he ſhould not have a conſiderable* Fleet, *whilſt his* Neighbours *have ſuch* Forces *both at* Land *and* Sea, Temptation *might be given to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to give us an* Affront, *at leaſt, if not to do us a* Miſchief.

To which may be added: That his Majeſty, by the Leagues which he hath made, for the Common Peace of Chriſtendom, and the good of his Kingdoms, is obliged to a certain Number of Forces in caſe of Infraction thereof, as alſo for the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Neighbours, in caſe of Invaſion. *And his* Majeſty *would be in a very ill condition to perform his part of the* Leagues *(if whilſt the Clouds are gathering ſo thick about us) he ſhould, in hopes that the Wind will diſperſe them, omit to provide againſt the Storm.*

My Lords *and* Gentlemen, *Having named the* Leagues *made by his* Majeſty, *I think it neceſſary to put you in mind, That ſince the Cloſe of the late War, his* Majeſty *hath made ſeveral* Leagues, *to his own great* Honour, *and infinite* Advantage *to the* Nation.

One, known by the Name of the *Tripple Alliance*, wherein his *Majeſty*, the Crown of *Sueden* and the *States* of the *United Provinces* are ingaged to preſerve the *Treaty* of *Aix la Capelle*, concerning a Peace between the two warring Princes, which Peace produced that effect, that it quenched the Fire which was ready to have ſet all Chriſtendom in a Flame. *And beſides other great* Benefits *by it, which ſhe ſtill enjoys, gave opportunity to tranſmit thoſe* Forces *againſt the* Infidels, *which would otherwiſe have been imbrued in* Chriſtian Blood.

Another, between his Majeſty and the ſaid States for a Mutual Aſſiſtance with a certain number of Men and Ships in caſe of Invaſion by any others.

Another between his Majeſty *and the* Duke *of* Savoy, *Eſtabliſhing a* Free Trade *for his* Majeſties Subjects *at* Villa Franca, *a* Port *of his own upon the* Mediterranean, *and through the* Dominions *of that* Prince; *and thereby opening a* Paſſage *to a Rich part of* Italy, *and part of* Germany, *which will be of a very great advantage for the* Vending of Cloth *and other our home* Commodities, *bringing back* Silk *and other* Materials *for* Manufactures *than here.*

Another, between his Majeſty *and the King of* Denmark, *whereby thoſe other* Impoſitions

ſitions *that were lately laid upon our* Trade *there, are taken off, and as great* Privileges *granted to our* Merchants, *as ever they had in former Times, or as the* Subjects *of any other* Prince *or* State *do now enjoy.*

And another League *upon a* Treaty of Commerce *with* Spain, *whereby there is not only a* Ceſſation *and giving up to his Majeſty of all their Pretenſions to* Jamaica, *and other* Iſlands *and* Countries *in the* Weſt Indies, *in the Poſſeſſion of his* Majeſty *or* Subjects, *but with all, free Liberty is given to his* Majeſties Subjects, *to enter their* Ports *for* Victuals *and* Water, *and ſafety of* Harbour *and* Return, *if* Storm *or other* Accidents *bring them thither;* Privileges *which were never before granted by them to the* Engliſh *or any Others.*

Not to mention the Leagues *formerly made with* Sueden *and* Portugal, *and the* Advantages *which we enjoy thereby: nor thoſe* Treaties *now depending between his* Majeſty *and* France, *or his* Majeſty *and the* States *of the* United Provinces *touching* Commerce, *wherein his* Majeſty *will have a ſingular regard to the* Honour *of this* Nation, *and alſo to the* Trade *of it, which never was greater than now it is.*

In a word, Almoſt all the Princes *in* Europe *do ſeek his* Majeſties Friendſhip, *as acknowledging they cannot* Secure, *much leſs* Improve *their preſent condition without it.*

His Majeſty is confident that you will not be contented to ſee him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his own Kingdoms, nay even to all Chriſtendom, in the Repoſe and Quiet of it. *That you will not be content abroad to ſee your Neighbours* ſtrengthening themſelves *in* Shipping, *ſo much more than they were before, and at Home to ſee the* Government *ſtrugling every year with* Difficulties; *and not able to keep up our* Navies *equal with theirs. He finds that by his* Accounts *from the year* 1660 *to the* Late War, *the ordinary Charge of the* Fleet Communibus annis, *came to about* 500000 l. *a year, and it cannot be ſupported with leſs.*

If that particular alone take up ſo much, add to it the other conſtant Charges *of the* Government, *and the* Revenue *(although the* Commiſſiones *of the* Treaſury *have managed it with all imaginable* Thrift*) will in no degree ſuffice to take of the Debts due upon* Intereſt, *much leſs give him a* Fonds *for the fitting out off this* Fleet, *which by common Eſtimation thereof cannot coſt leſs than* 800000 l. *His* Majeſty *in his moſt gracious* Speech, *hath expreſſed the great ſence he hath of your zeal and affection for him, and as he will ever retain a grateful memory of your former readineſs to ſupply him in all Exigencies, ſo he doth with particular thanks acknowledge* your frank and chearful Gift of the New Duty upon Wines, at your laſt Meeting: *But the ſame is likely to fall very ſhort in value of what it was conceived to be worth, and ſhould it have anſwered expectation, yet far too ſhort to eaſe and help him upon theſe Occaſions. And therefore ſuch a Supply as may enable him to take off his* Debts upon Intereſt, and to ſet out this Fleet againſt the Spring, *is that which he deſires from you, and recommends it to you, as that which concerns the* Honour *and* Support *of the* Government, *and the* Wellfare *and* Safety *of your* Selves *and the whole* Kingdom.

My Lords *and* Gentlemen, *You may perceive by what his* Majeſty *hath already ſaid, that he holds it requiſite that an* End *be put to this* Meeting *before* Chriſtmas. *It is ſo not only in reference to the* Preparation *for his Fleet, which muſt be in readineſs in the* Spring, *but alſo to the Seaſon of the* Year. *It is a time when you would be willing to be in your Countries, and your Neigbours would be glad to ſee you there, and partake of your* Hoſpitality *and* Charity, *and you thereby endear your ſelves to them, and keep up that* Intereſt *and* Power *among them, which is neceſſary for the ſervice of your* King *and* Country; *and a* Receſs *at that time, leaving your buſineſs* unfiniſhed *till your* Return, *cannot either be* convenient *for you, or* ſuitable *to the condition of his* Majeſties Affairs, *which requites your* Speedy, *as well as* Affectionate Conſideration.

There

There needed not ſo large a Catalogue of paſt, preſent and future Leagues and Treaties, for even *Villa Franca* founded ſo well (being beſides ſo conſiderable a Port, and that too upon the *Mediterranean* (another remote word of much efficacy) and opening moreover a paſſage to a rich part of *Italy*, and a part of *Germany*, &c.) that it alone would have ſufficed to charm the more ready Votes of the Commons into a ſupply, and to juſtifie the neceſſity of it in the noiſe of the Country. But indeed the making of that *Tripple League*, was a thing of ſo good a report, and ſo generally acceptable to the Nation, as being a hook in the *French* Noſtrils, that this Parliament (who are uſed, whether it be War or Peace, to make us pay for it) could not have deſired a fairer pretence to colour their Liberality.

And therefore after all the immenſe Summs laviſhed in the former War with *Holland*, they had but in *April* laſt, 1670, given the *Additional* Duty upon Wines for eight years, amounting to 560000 and confirmed the ſale of the *Fee Farm Rents*, which was no leſs their gift, being a part of the publick Revenue, to the value of 1800000 *l.* Yet upon the telling of this Story by the *Lord Keeper*, they could no longer hold but gave with both hands now again a Subſidy of 1*s.* in the pound to the real value of all Lands, and other Eſtates proportionably, with ſeveral more beneficial Clauſes into the bargain, to begin the 24 of *June* 1671, and expire the 24 of *June*, 1672. Together with this, they granted the *Additional Exciſe* upon *Beer*, *Ale*, &c. for ſix years, to reckon from the ſame 24th of *June*, 1671. And laſtly, the *Law Bill* commencing from the firſt of *May*, 1671, and at nine years end to determine. Theſe three Bills ſummed up therefore cannot be eſtimated at leſs than two millions and an half.

So that for the *Tripple League*, here was alſo *Tripple-Supply*, and the Subject had now all reaſon to believe that this Alliance, which had been fixed at firſt by the *Publick Intereſt*, *Safety* and *Honour* (yet, ſhould any of theſe give way) was by theſe *Three Grants*, as with three *Golden Nails*, ſufficiently clenched and reivetted. But now therefore was the moſt proper time and occaſion for the Conſpirators, I have before deſcribed, to give demonſtration of their fidelity to the *French King* and by the forfeiture of all theſe obligations to their King and Countrey, and other Princes, and at the expence of all this Treaſure given to contrary uſes, to recommend themſelves more meritoriouſly to his patronage.

The *Parliament* having once given this Mony, were in conſequence Prorogued, and met not again till the 4th of *February*, 1672, that there might be a competent ſcope for ſo great a Work as was deſigned, and the Architects of our Ruine might be ſo long free from their buſie and odious inſpection till it were finiſhed. Henceforward all the former Applications made by his Majeſty to induce Foreign Princes into the *Guaranty* of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* ceaſed, and on the contrary, thoſe who deſired to be admitted into it, were here refuſed. The Duke of *Loraine*, who had always been a true Friend to his Majeſty, and by his affection to the *Tripple League* had incurred the *French King's* diſpleaſure, with the loſs of his whole Territory, ſeiſed in the year 1669, againſt all Laws, not only of *Peace*, but *Hoſtility*, yet was by means of theſe men rejected, that he might have no Intereſt in the Alliance, for which he was ſacrificed. Nay, even the Emperor, though he did his Majeſty the Honour to addreſs voluntarily to him, that himſelf might be received into that *Tripple League*, yet could not ſo great a Prince prevail but was turned off with blind Reaſon, and moſt frivolous Excuſes. So far was it now from fortifying the Alliance by the Acceſſion of other Princes, that Mr. *Henry Coventry* went now to *Sueden* expreſly, as he affirmed at his departure hence, to diſſolve the *Tripple League*. And he did ſo much towards it, co-operating in that Court with the *French* Miniſters, that *Sueden* never (after it came to a Rupture) did aſſiſt or proſecute effectually the ends of the *Alliance*, but only arming it ſelf at the expence of the *League*, did firſt under a diſguiſed Mediation, Act the *French Intereſt*, and (at laſt threw off the *Vizard*, and drew the Sword in their Quarrel. Which is a matter of ſad reflection, that he, who in his *Embaſſy* at *Breda*, had been ſo happy an Inſtrument to end the firſt unfortunate War with *Holland*, ſhould now be made the *Tool* of a ſecond, and of breaking that threefold Cord, by which the Intereſt of *England* and all *Chriſtendom* was faſtned. And, what renders it more wretched, is, that no man better than He underſtood both the *Theory* and *Practick* of *Honour*; and yet, could in ſo eminent an Inſtance, forget it. All which can be ſaid in his excuſe, is, that upon his return he was for this ſervice made Secretary of State (as if to have remained the ſame *Honeſt Gentleman*, had not been more neceſſary, and leſs diſhonourable) Sir *William Lockyard* and ſeveral others were diſpatched to other Courts upon the like errand.

All things were thus far well diſpoſed here toward a War with *Holland*: only all this while there wanted a Quarrel, and to pick one required much invention. For the *Dutch*, although there was a *ſi quis* to find out Complaints, and our *Eaſt India* Company was ſummoned to know whether they had any thing to object againſt them, had ſo punctually complyed with all the Conditions of the Peace at *Breda*, and obſerved his Majeſty with ſuch reſpect (and in paying the due Honour of the *Flag* particularly, as it was agreed on in the 19th Article) that nothing could be alledged: and as to the *Tripple League*, their Fleet was then out, riding near their own Coaſts, in proſecuting of the ends of that *Treaty*. Therefore, to try

a new experiment and to make a Caſe which had never before happened or been imagined, a ſorry *Yacht*, but bearing the *Engliſh Jack*, in *Auguſt* 1671, ſails into the midſt of their Fleet, ſingled out the *Admiral*, ſhooting twice, as they call it, ſharp upon him. Which muſt ſure have appeared as ridiculous, and unnatural as for a *Larke* to dare the *Hobby*. Nevertheleſs their Commander in Chief, in deference to his Majeſties Colours, and in conſideration of the Amity betwixt the two Nations, payed our Admiral of the *Yatch* a viſit, to know the reaſon; and learning that it was becauſe he and his whole Fleet had failed to ſtrike Sail to his Small-craft, the *Dutch Commander* civilly excuſed it as a matter of the firſt inſtance, and in which he could have no Inſtructions, therefore proper to be referred to their Maſters, and ſo they parted. The *Yatch* having thus acquitted it ſelf, returned, fraught with the Quarrel which ſhe was ſent for, which yet was for ſeveral months paſſed over here in ſilence without any Complaint or demand of ſatisfaction, but to be improved afterwards when occaſion grew riper. For there was yet one thing more to be done at home to make us more capable of what was ſhortly after to be executed on our Neigbours.

The *Exchequer* had now for ſome years by exceſſive gain decoyed in the wealthy *Goldſmiths*, and they the reſt of the Nation by due payment of Intereſt, till the King was run (upon what account I know not) into debt of above two Millions: which ſerved for one of the pretences in my Lord *Keepers Speech* above recited, to demand and grant the late Supplies, and might have ſufficed for that work, with peace and any tolerable good huſbandry. But as if it had been perfidious to apply them to any one of the Purpoſes declared, it was inſtead of payment privately reſolved to ſhut up the *Exchequer*, leaſt any part of the money ſhould be legally expended, but that all might be appropriate to the Holy War in project, and thoſe further pious uſes to which the Conſpirators had dedicated it.

This affair was carried on with all the Secreſie of ſo great Stateſmen, that they might not by venting it unſeaſonably ſpoil the wit and malice of the buſineſs. So that all on the ſudden, upon the firſt of *January*, 1671, to the great aſtoniſhment, ruine and deſpair of ſo many intereſted perſons, and to the terrour of the whole Nation by ſo arbitrary a Fact, the Proclamation iſſued whereby the Crown, amidſt the confluence of ſo vaſt Aids and Revenue, publiſhed it ſelf Bankrupt, made prize of the Subject, and broke all Faith and contract at home in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.

There remained nothing now but that the Conſpirators, after this exploit upon our own Countrymen, ſhould manifeſt their impartiality to Foreigners, and avoid on both ſides the reproach of Injuſtice by their equality in the diſtribution. They had now ſtarted the diſpute about the Flag upon occaſion of the Yacht, and begun the diſcourſe of *Surinam*, and ſomewhat of *Pictures* and *Medals*, but they handled theſe matters ſo nicely as men not leſs afraid of receiving all ſatisfaction therein from the *Hollanders*, than of giving them any umbrage of arming againſt them upon thoſe pretences. The *Dutch* therefore not being conſcious to themſelves of any provocation given to *England*, but of their readineſs, if there had been any, to repair it, and relying upon that faith of Treaſies and Alliances with us, which hath been thought ſufficient ſecurity, not only amongſt *Chriſtians*, but even with *Infidels*, purſued their Traffick and Navigation thorow our Seas with the leaſt ſuſpicion. And accordingly a great and rich Fleet of Merchantmen from *Smyrna* and *Spain*, were on their Voyage homeward near the Iſle of *Wight*, under a ſmall Convoy of five or ſix of their Men of War. This was the Fleet in contemplation of which the Conſpirators had ſo long deferred the War to plunder them in peace; the wealth of this was that which by its weight turned the Ballance of all Publick Juſtice and Honour; with this Treaſure they imagined themſelves in ſtock for all the wickedneſs of which they were capable, and that they ſhould never, after this addition, ſtand in need again or fear of a Parliament. Therefore they had with great ſtillneſs and expedition equipped early in the year, ſo many of the King's Ships as might without jealouſie of the number, yet be of competent ſtrength for the intended Action, but if any thing ſhould chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly ſupplyed by virtue of the Commander. For Sir *Robert Holmes* had with the like number of Ships in the year 1661, even ſo timely, commenced the firſt Hoſtility againſt *Holland*, in time of Peace; ſeiſing upon *Cape Verde*, and other of the *Dutch Forts* on the Coaſt of *Guiny*, and the whole *New Netherlands*, with great ſucceſs: in defence of which Conqueſts, the *Engliſh* undertook, in 1665, the firſt War againſt *Holland*. And in that ſame War, he with a proportionable Squadron ſignalized himſelf by burning the *Dutch* Ships and Village of *Brandaris* at *Schelling*, which was unfortunately revenged upon us at *Chatham*. So that he was pitched upon as the perſon for underſtanding, experience and courage, fitteſt for a deſign of this or any higher nature; and upon the 14th of *March*, 1672, as they ſailed on, to the number of 72 Veſſels in all, whereof ſix the *Convoy*; near our Coaſt, he fell in upon them with his accuſtomed Bravery, and could not have failed of giving a good account of them, would he but have joyned fortunes, Sir *Edward Spragg*'s Aſſiſtance to his own Conduct: For Sir *Edward* was in ſight at the ſame time with his Squadron, and Captain *Legg* making ſail towards him, to acquaint him with the deſign, till called back by a Gun from his Admiral, of which ſeveral perſons have had their conjectures. Poſſibly Sir *Robert Holmes*, conſidering that Sir *Edward* had ſailed all

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along in conſort with the *Dutch* in their voyage, and did but now return from bringing the Pirates of *Algier* to reaſon, thought him not ſo proper to engage in this Enterpriſe before he underſtood it better. But it is rather believed to have proceeded partly from that Jealouſie (which is uſual to Martial Spirits, like Sir *Roberts*) of admitting a Companion to ſhare with him in the Spoil of Honour or Profit; and partly out of too ſtrict a regard to preſerve the ſecret of his Commiſſion. However, by this means the whole Affair miſcarried. For the Merchant Men themſelves, and their little Convoy did ſo beſtir them, that Sir *Robert*, although he ſhifted his Ship, fell foul on his beſt Friends, and did all that was poſſible, unleſs he could have multiplied himſelf, and been every where, was forced to give it over, and all the Prize that was gotten, ſufficed not to pay the Chirurgeons and Carpenters.

To deſcend to the very bottom of their helliſh Conſpiracy, there was yet one ſtep more; that of Religion. For ſo pious and juſt an Action as Sir *Robert Holmes* was employed upon, could not be better accompanied than by the Declaration of *Liberty of Conſcience* (unleſs they ſhould have expected till he had found that precious Commodity in plundering the Hole of ſome *Amſterdam* Fly-boat.) Accordingly, while he was trying his Fortune in Battel with the *Smyrna* Merchant-Men, on the *thirteenth* and *fourteenth* of *March*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy two*, the *Indulgence* was Printing off here in all haſte, and was Publiſhed on the *fifteenth*, as a more proper means than *Faſting* and *Prayer* for propitiating Heaven to give ſucceſs to his Enterpriſe, and to the War that muſt ſecond it.

Hereby, all the Penal *Laws* againſt *Papiſts*, for which former *Parliaments* had given ſo many Supplies, and againſt *Nonconformiſts*, for which this *Parliament* had paid more largely, were at one inſtant Suſpended, in order to defraud the Nation of all that *Religion* which they had ſo dearly purchaſed, and for which they ought at leaſt, the Bargain being broke, to have been re-imburſed.

There is, I confeſs, a meaſure to be taken in thoſe things, and it is indeed to the great reproach of Humane Wiſdom, that no man has for ſo many Ages been able or willing to find out the due temper of Government in Divine Matters. For it appears at the firſt ſight, that men ought to enjoy the ſame Propriety and Protection in their Conſciences, which they have in their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates: But that to take away theſe in Penalty for the other, is meerly a more Legal and Gentile way of Padding upon the Road of Heaven, and that it is only for want of Money and for want of Religion that men take thoſe deſperate Courſes.

Nor can it be denyed that the *Original Law* upon which Chriſtianity at the firſt was founded, does indeed expreſly provide againſt all ſuch ſeverity; And it was by the Humility, Meekneſs, Love, Forbearance and Patience which were part of that excellent Doctrine, that it became at laſt the Univerſal Religion, and can no more by any other means be preſerved, than it is poſſible for another Soul to animate the ſame Body.

But, with ſhame be it ſpoken, the *Spartans* obliging themſelves to *Lycurgus* his Laws, till he could come back again, continued under his moſt rigid Diſcipline, above twice as long as the Chriſtians did endure under the gentleſt of all Inſtitutions, though with far more certainty expecting the return of their *Divine Legiſlator*. Inſomuch that it is no great Adventure to ſay, That the World was better ordered under the ancient *Monarchies* and *Commonwealths*, that the number of Virtuous Men was then greater, and that the Chriſtians found fairer quarter under thoſe, than among themſelves, nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind from that moſt perfect and practical *Model* of *Humane Society*, except the Speculation of a better way to future Happineſs, concerning which the very Guides diſagree, and of thoſe few that follow, it will ſuffer no man to paſs without playing at their *Turn-pikes*. All which had proceeded from no other reaſon, but that men inſtead of ſquaring their Governments by the Rule of Chriſtianity, have ſhaped Chriſtianity by the meaſures of their Government, have reduced that ſtraight Line by the crooked, and bungling Divine and Humane things together, have been always hacking and hewing one another, to frame an irregular Figure of Political Incongruity.

For whereſoever either the Magiſtrate, or the Clergy, or the People could gratifie their Ambition, their Profit, or their Phanſie by a Text improved or miſapplied, that they made uſe of, though againſt the conſent, ſenſe and immutable precepts of *Scripture*, and becauſe Obedience for Conſcience ſake was there preſcribed, the leſs Conſcience did men make in Commanding; ſo that ſeveral Nations have little elſe to ſhew for their Chriſtianity (which requires Inſtruction only and Example) but a parcel of ſevere Laws concerning Opinion or about the Modes of Worſhip, not ſo much in order to the Power of Religion as over it. Nevertheleſs becauſe Mankind muſt be governed ſome way, and be held up to one Law or other, either of Chriſts or their own making, the vigour of ſuch humane Conſtitutions is to be preſerved until the ſame Authority ſhall upon better reaſon revoke them; and as in the mean time no private man may without the guilt of Sedition or Rebellion reſiſt, ſo neither by the Nature of the *Engliſh* Foundation can any Publick Perſon ſuſpend them without committing an Errour which is not the leſs for wanting a legal name to expreſs it. But it was the Maſter-piece therefore of boldneſs and contrivance in theſe Conſpirators to iſſue this Declaration, and it is hard to ſay wherein they took the greater felicity, whether in ſuſpending

hereby

hereby all the Statutes againſt Popery, that it might thence forward paſs like currant Mony over the Nation, and no man dare to refuſe it, or whether gaining by this a Preſident to ſuſpend as well all other Laws that reſpect the Subjects Propriety, and by the ſame power to abrogate and at laſt enact what they pleaſed, till there ſhould be no further uſe for the Conſent of the *People in Parliament*.

Having been thus true to their great Deſign, and made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, they advanced with all expedition. It was now high time to Declare the War, after they had begun it; and therefore by a *Manifeſto* of the ſeventeenth of *March* 1672, the pretended Cauſes were made publick, which were, The not having Vailed Bonnet to the *Engliſh* Yatch: though the *Dutch* had all along, both at home and here as carefully endeavoured to give, as the *Engliſh Miniſters* to avoid the receiving of all ſatisfaction, or letting them underſtand what would do it, and the Council Clock was on purpoſe ſet forward, leſt their utmoſt Compliance in the Flag at the hour appointed, ſhould prevent the Declaration of War by ſome minutes. The detaining of ſome few *Engliſh* Families (by their own Conſent) in *Surynam* after the Dominion of it was by Treaty ſurrendred up to the *Hollander*, in which they had likewiſe conſtantly yielded to the unreaſonable demands that were from one time to another extended from hence to make the thing impracticable, till even *Baniſter* himſelf, that had been employed as the Agent and Contriver of this miſunderſtanding, could not at the laſt forbear to cry ſhame of it. And moreover to fill up the meaſure of the *Dutch* Iniquity, they are accuſed of Pillars, Medals and Pictures: a Poet indeed, by a dash of his Pen, having once been the cauſe of a War againſt *Poland*; but this certainly was the firſt time that ever a *Painter* could by the ſtroke of his Pencil occaſion the Breach of a Treaty. But conſidering the weakneſs and invalidity of thoſe other allegations, theſe indeed were not unneceſſary, the Pillars to add ſtrength, the Medals Weight, and the Pictures Colour to their Reaſons.

But herein they had however obſerved Faith with *France* though on all other ſides broken, having capitulated to be the firſt that ſhould do it. Which as it was no ſmall piece of *French* Courteſie in ſo important an action to yield the *Engliſh* the Precedence, ſo was it on the *Engliſh* part as great a Bravery in accepting to be the foremoſt to diſcompoſe the State of all *Chriſtendom*, and make themſelves principal to all the horrid Deſtruction, Devaſtation, Ravage and Slaughter, which from that fatal *ſeventeenth* of *March*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy two*, has to this very day continued.

But that which was moſt admirable in the winding up of this *Declaration*, was to behold theſe Words,

And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty to ſupport the Peace made at Aix la Chapelle; *We do finally Declare, that, notwithſtanding the proſecution of this War, We will maintain the true intent and ſcope of the ſaid Treaty, and that, in all Alliances, which we have, or ſhall make in the progreſs of this War, we have, and will take care, to preſerve the ends thereof inviolable, unleſs provoked to the contrary.*

And yet it is as clear as the Sun, that the *French* had by that Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, agreed to acquieſs in their former Conqueſts in *Flanders*, and that the *Engliſh*, *Suede* and *Hollander*, were reciprocally bound to be aiding againſt whomſoever ſhould diſturb that Regulation (beſides the League Offenſive and Defenſive, which his Majeſty had entered into with the States General of the United Provinces) all which was by this Conjunction with *France* to be broken in pieces. So that what is here declared, if it were reconcileable to Truth, yet could not conſiſt with Poſſibility (which two do ſeldom break company) unleſs by one only Expedient, that the *Engliſh*, who by this new League with *France*, were to be the Infractors and Aggreſſors of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* (and with *Holland*) ſhould, to fullfil their Obligations to both Parties, have ſheathed the Sword in our own Bowels.

But ſuch was the Zeal of the Conſpirators, that it might eaſily tranſport them either to ſay what was untrue, or undertake what was impoſſible, for the *French* Service.

That King having ſeen the *Engliſh* thus engaged beyond a Retreat, comes now into the War according to agreement. But he was more Generous and Monarchal than to aſſign Cauſe, true or falſe, for his Actions. He therefore, on the 27th of *March* 1672, publiſhes a Declaration of War without any Reaſons. Only, *The ill ſatisfaction which his Majeſty hath of the Behaviour of the States General towards him, being riſen to that degree, that he can no longer without diminution to his Glory, diſſemble his Indignation againſt them*, &c. *Therefore he hath reſolved to make War againſt them both by Sea and Land*, &c. *And commands all his Subjects, Courir ſus* upon the *Hollanders*. (A Metaphor which, out of reſpect to his own Nation, might have been ſpared) *For ſuch is our pleaſure.*

Was ever in any Age or Nation of the World, the Sword drawn upon no better Allegation? A ſtile ſo far from being *Moſt Chriſtian*, that nothing but ſome vain *French* Romance can parallel or juſtifie the Expreſſion. How happy were it could we once arrive at the ſame pitch, and how much credit and labour had been ſaved, had the Compilers of our Declaration, inſtead of the mean *Engliſh* way of giving Reaſons, contented themſelves with that of the Diminution of the *Engliſh Honour*, as the *French* of his *Glory!* But nevertheleſs, by his

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Embaſſador to the *Pope*, he gave afterwards a more clear account of his Conjunction with the *Engliſh*, and that he had not undertaken this War againſt the *Hollanders*, but for extirpating of Hereſie. To the Emperour, That the *Hollanders* were a People who had forſaken God, were Hereticks, and that all good Chriſtians were in duty bound to aſſociate for their extirpation, and ought to pray to God for a Bleſſing upon ſo pious an Enterpriſe. And to other Popiſh Princes, that it was a War of Religion and in order to the Propagation of the Catholick Faith.

And in the ſecond Article of his Demands afterward from the *Hollanders*, it is in expreſs words contained, *That from thenceforward there ſhall not be only an intire Liberty, but a Publick Exerciſe of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion throughout all the united Provinces. So that whereſoever there ſhall be more than one Church, another ſhall be given to the Catholicks. That where there is none, they ſhall be permitted to build one: and till that be finiſhed, to exerciſe their Divine Service publickly in ſuch Houſes as they ſhall buy, or hire for that purpoſe. That the States General, or each Province in particular, ſhall appoint a reaſonable Salary for a Curate or Prieſt in each of the ſaid Churches, out of ſuch Revenues as have formerly appertained to the Church or otherwiſe.* Which was conformable to what he publiſhed now abroad, that he had entred into the War only for God's Glory; and that he would lay down Arms ſtraightways, would the *Hollanders* but reſtore the True Worſhip in their Dominions.

But he made indeed twelve Demands more, and notwithſtanding all this Devotion, the Article of Commerce, and for revoking their *Placaets* againſt Wine, Brandy, and French Manufactures was the firſt, and took place of the *Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion*; Whether all theſe were therefore only words of courſe, and to be held or let looſe according to his occaſions, will better appear when we ſhall have heard that he ſtill inſiſts upon the ſame at *Nimeguen*, and that, although deprived of our aſſiſtance, he will not yet agree with the *Dutch* but upon the terms of reſtoring the *True Worſhip*. But, whatever he were, it is evident that the *Engliſh* were ſincere and in good earneſt in the Deſign of Popery, both by that Declaration above mentioned of Indulgence to the Recuſants, and by the Negotiation of thoſe of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries (whom for their honour I name not) that being in that year ſent into *Holland* preſſed that Article among the reſt upon them, as without which they could have no hope of Peace with *England*. And the whole proceſs of Affairs will manifeſt further, that both here and there it was all of a piece, as to the project of Religion, and the ſame Thred ran thorow the Web of the *Engliſh* and *French* Counſels, no leſs in relation to that, than unto Government.

Although the iſſuing of the *French* King's Declaration and the ſending of our *Engliſh Plenipotentiaries* into *Holland* be involved together in this laſt period, yet the difference of time was ſo ſmall that the anticipation is inconſiderable. For having declared the War but on the 27*th* of *March*, 1672. He ſtruck ſo home, and followed his blow ſo cloſe, that by *July* following, it ſeemed that *Holland* could no longer ſtand him, but that the ſwiftneſs and force of his motion was ſomething ſupernatural. And it was thought neceſſary to ſend over thoſe *Plenipotentiaries*, if not for Intereſt, yet at leaſt for Curiolity. But it is eaſier to find the Marks than Reaſons of ſome Mens Actions, and he that does only know what happened before, and what after, might perhaps wrong them by ſearching for further Intelligence.

So it was, that the *Engliſh* and *French* Navies being joyned, were upon the *Twenty eighth* of *May*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy two*, Attacked in *Soule Bay* by *De Ruyter*, with too great advantage. For while his Royal Highneſs, then *Admiral*, did all that could be expected, but *Monſieur d'Eſtree*, that commanded the *French*, did all that he was ſent for, Our *Engliſh Vice-Admiral*, *Mountague*, was ſacrificed; and the reſt of our Fleet ſo mangled, that there was no occaſion to boaſt of Victory. So that being here ſtill on the loſing hand, 'twas fit ſome body ſhould look to the Betts on the other ſide of the Water; leaſt that Great and Lucky Gameſter, when he had won all there, and ſtood no longer in need of the Conſpirators, ſhould pay them with a Quarrel for his Mony, and their ill Fortune. Yet were they not conſcious to themſelves of having given him by any *Behaviour* of theirs, any cauſe of *Diſſatisfaction*, but that they had dealt with him in all things moſt frankly, That, notwithſtanding all the Expreſſions in my Lord Keeper *Bridgman*'s Speech, of the *Treaty between* France *and his Majeſty concerning Commerce, wherein his Majeſty will have a ſingular regard to the Honour, and alſo to the Trade of the Nation*, and notwithſtanding the intollerable oppreſſions upon the *Engliſh Traffick* in *France* ever ſince the Reſtauration, they had not in all that time made one ſtep towards a Treaty of Commerce or Navigation with him; no not now even when the *Engliſh* were ſo neceſſary to him, that he could not have begun this War without them, and might probably therefore in this conjuncture have condeſcended to ſome equality. But they knew how tender that King was on that point, and to preſerve and encreaſe the Trade of his Subjects, and that it was by the *Diminution* of that Beam of his *Glory*, that the *Hollanders* had raiſed his *Indignation*. The Conſpirators had therefore, the more to gratifie him, made it their conſtant Maxim, to burden the *Engliſh* Merchant here with one hand, while the *French* ſhould load them no leſs with the other, in his Territories; which was a parity of Trade indeed, though ſomething an extravagant one, but the beſt

that could be hoped from the prudence and integrity of our Stateſ-men; inſomuch, that when the Merchants have at any time come down from *London* to repreſent their Grievances from the *French*, to ſeek redreſs, or offer their humble advice, they were Hectored, Browbeaten, Ridiculed, and might have found fairer audience even from *Monſieur Colbert*.

They knew moreover, that as in the matter of Commerce, ſo they had more obliged him in this War. That except the irreſiſtable Bounties of ſo great a Prince in their own particular, and a frugal Subſiſtance-money for the Fleet, they had put him to no charges, but the *Engliſh* Navy Royal ſerv'd him, like ſo many *Privateers*, No *Purchaſe*, No *Pay*. That in all things they had acted with him upon the moſt abſtracted Principles of Generoſity. They had tyed him to no terms, had demanded no Partition of Conqueſts, had made no humane Condition; but had ſold all to him for thoſe two Pearls of Price, the *True Worſhip*, and the *True Government*. Which diſintereſted proceeding of theirs, though ſuited to Foreign Magnanimity, yet, ſhould we ſtill loſe at Sea, as we had hitherto, and the *French* Conquer all at land, as it was in proſpect, might at one time or other breed ſome difficulty in anſwering for it to the King and Kingdom: However this were, it had ſo happened before the arrival of the *Plenipotentiaries*, that, whereas here in *England*, all that brought applications from *Holland* were treated as Spies and Enemies, till the *French King* ſhould ſignifie his pleaſure; he on the contrary, without any communication here, had received Addreſſes from the *Dutch Plenipotentiaries*, and given in to them the ſum of his Demands (not once mentioning his Majeſty or his Intereſt, which indeed he could not have done unleſs for Mockery, having demanded all for himſelf, ſo that there was no place left to make the *Engliſh* any ſatisfaction) and the *French* Miniſters did therefore very candidly acquaint thoſe of *Holland*, that, upon their accepting thoſe Articles, there ſhould be a firm Peace, and Amity reſtored: But as for *England*, the States, their Maſters, might uſe their diſcretion, for that *France* was not obliged by any Treaty to procure their advantage.

This manner of dealing might probably have animated, as it did warrant the *Engliſh Plenipotentiaries*, had they been as full of Reſolution as of Power, to have cloſed with the *Dutch*, who, out of averſion to the *French*, and their intollerable demands, were ready to have thrown themſelves into his Majeſties Arms, or at his Feet, upon any reaſonable conditions; But it wrought clean otherwiſe: For, thoſe of the *Engliſh Plenipotentiaries*, who were, it ſeems, intruſted with a fuller Authority, and the deeper Secret, gave in alſo the *Engliſh* Demands to the *Hollanders*, conſiſting in eight Articles, but at laſt the Ninth ſaith,

Although his Majeſty contents himſelf with the foregoing Conditions, ſo that they be accepted within ten days, after which his Majeſty underſtands himſelf to be no further obliged by them. He declares nevertheleſs preciſely, that albeit they ſhould all of them be granted by the ſaid States, yet they ſhall be of no force, nor will his Majeſty make any Treaty of Peace or Truce, unleſs the Moſt Chriſtian King *ſhall have received ſatisfaction from the ſaid States in his particular.* And by this means they made it impoſſible for the *Dutch*, however deſirous, to comply with *England*, excluded us from more advantageous terms, than we could at any other time hope for, and deprived us of an honeſt and honourable evaſion out of ſo pernicious a War, and from a more dangerous Alliance. So that now it appeared by what was done, that the Conſpirators, ſecuring their own fears at the price of the Publick Intereſt, and Safety, had bound us up more ſtrait than ever, by a new Treaty, to the *French* Project.

The reſt of this year paſſed with great ſucceſs to the *French*, but none to the *Engliſh*. And therefore the hopes upon which the War was begun, of the *Smyrna* and *Spaniſh* Fleet, and *Dutch* Prizes, being vaniſhed, the ſlender Allowance from the *French* not ſufficing to defray it, and the Ordinary Revenue of the King, with all the former Aids being (as was fit to be believed) in leſs than one years time exhauſted, The Parliament by the Conſpirators good leave, was admitted again to ſit at the day appointed, the 4*th* of *February* 1672.

The War was then firſt communicated to them, and the Cauſes, the Neceſſity, the Danger, ſo well Painted out, that the *Dutch* abuſive Hiſtorical Pictures, and falſe Medals (which were not forgot to be mentioned), could not be better imitated or revenged; Only, there was one great omiſſion of their Falſe Pillars, which upheld the whole Fabrick of the *England* Declaration. Upon this ſignification, the Houſe of Commons (who had never failed the Crown hitherto upon any occaſion of mutual gratuity) did now alſo, though in a War contrary to former uſage, begun without their Advice, readily Vote, no leſs a ſumm than 1250000*l*. But for better Colour, and leſt they ſhould own in words, what they did in effect, they would not ſay it was for the War, but for the Kings extraordinary Occaſions.

And becauſe the Nation began now to be aware of the more true Cauſes, for which the War had been undertaken, they prepared an Act before the Money Bill ſlipped thorow their Fingers, by which the Papiſts were obliged to paſs thorow a new State Purgatory, to be uncapable of any Publick Employment; whereby the Houſe of Commons, who ſeem to have all the Great Offices of the Kingdom in Reverſion, could not but expect ſome Wind-falls.

Upon this Occaſion it was, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, though then Lord Chancellor of *England*, yet, Engaged ſo far in Defence of that ACT, and of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, that in due time it coſt him his Place, and was the firſt moving Cauſe of all

thoſe

thoſe Miſadventures, and Obloquy, which ſince he lyes (*ABOVE*, not) *Under*.

The Declaration alſo of Indulgence was queſtioned, which, though his MAJESTY had out of his Princely, and Gracious Inclination, and the memory of ſome former Obligations, granted, yet upon their Repreſentation of the Inconveniences, and at their humble Requeſt, he was pleaſed to Cancel, and Declare, that it ſhould be no Preſident for the Future: For otherwiſe ſome ſucceeding Governour, by his ſingle Power ſuſpending Penal Laws, in a favourable matter, as that is of Religion, might become more dangerous to the Government, than either Papiſts or Fanaticks, and make us *Either*, when he pleaſed: So Legal was it in this Seſſion to Diſtinguiſh between the King of *Englands* Perſonal, and his Parliamentary Authority.

But therefore the further ſitting being grown very uneaſie to thoſe, who had undertaken for the Change of Religion, and Government, they procured the Receſs ſo much ſooner, and a Bill ſent up by the Commons in favour of Diſſenting Proteſtants, not having paſſed thorow the Lords preparation, the Bill concerning Papiſts, was enacted in Exchange for the Mony, by which the Conſpirators, when it came into their management, hoped to fruſtrate, yet, the effect of the former. So the Parliament was diſmiſſed till the *Twenty ſeventh* of *October*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy three*.

In the mean time therefore they ſtrove with all their might to regain by the War, that part of their Deſign, which they had loſt by Parliament; and though ſeveral honourably forſook their Places rather than their Conſciences, yet there was never wanting ſome double-dyed Son of our Church, ſome Proteſtant in grain, to ſucceed upon the ſame Conditions. And the difference was no more, but that their Offices, or however their Counſels, were now to be adminiſtred by their Deputies, ſuch as they could confide in.

The buſineſs of the Land Army was vigorouſly carried on, in appearance to have made ſome deſcent in *Holland*, but though the Regiments were Completed, and kept imbodyed, it wanted effect, and therefore gave cauſe of ſuſpicion: The rather, becauſe no *Engliſhman*, among ſo many well diſpoſed, and qualified for the work, had been thought capable, or fit to be truſted with Chief Command of thoſe Forces, but that *Monſieur Schomberg*, a *French* Proteſtant had been made General, and Collonel *Fits-Gerald*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, Major General, as more proper for the Secret; the firſt of advancing the *French* Government, the ſecond of promoting the *Iriſh* Religion.

And therefore the dark hovering of that Army ſo long at *Black-Heath*, might not improbably ſeem the gatherings of a Storm to fall upon *London*, But the ill ſucceſſes which our Fleet met withal this Year, alſo, at Sea, were ſufficient, had there been any ſuch deſign at home to have quaſhed it: for ſuch Gallantries are not to be attempted, but in the higheſt raptures of Fortune.

There were three ſeveral Engagements of ours againſt the *Dutch Navy* in this one Summer, but while nothing was Tenable at Land, againſt the *French*, it ſeemed that to us at Sea every thing was impregnable; which is not to be attributed to the want of Courage or Conduct, either the former Year under the Command of his Royal Highneſs, ſo Great a Soldier, or this Year under the Prince, *Robert*; But is rather to be imputed to our unlucky Conjunction with the *French*, like the Diſaſters that happen to men by being in ill Company.

But beſides it was manifeſt that in all theſe Wars, the *French* meant nothing leſs than really to aſſiſt us: He had firſt practiſed the ſame Art at Sea, when he was in League with the *Hollander* againſt us, his Navy never having done the Dutch ſervice, for his Buſineſs was only to ſee us Batter one another. And now he was on the *Engliſh* ſide, he only ſtudied to ſound our *Seas*, to ſpie our *Ports*, to learn our *Building*, to contemplate our way of *Fight*, to conſume ours, and preſerve his own Navy, to encreaſe his *Commerce*, and to order all ſo, that the two great Naval Powers of *Europe* being cruſhed together, he might remain ſole Arbitrator of the Ocean, and by conſequence Maſter of all the Iſles and Continent. To which purpoſes the Conſpirators furniſhed him with all poſſible opportunities. Therefore it was that *Monſieur d' Eſtree*, though a Perſon otherwiſe of tryed Courage and Prudence, yet never did worſe than in the third and laſt Engagement; and becauſe brave *Monſieur d' Martel* did better, and could not endure a thing that looked like Cowardiſe or Treachery, though for the Service of his Monarch, commanded him in, rated him, and at his return home he was, as then was reported, diſcountenanced and diſmiſſed from his Command, for no other crime, but his breaking of the *French* meaſures, by adventuring one of thoſe ſacred Ships in the *Engliſh*, or, rather his own Maſters Quarrel.

His Royal Highneſs (by whoſe having quitted the Admiralty, the Sea ſervice thrived not the better) was now intent upon his Marriage, at the ſame time the Parliament was to reaſſemble the 27*th* of *October* 1673, the Princeſs of *Modena*, his Conſort, being upon the way for *England*, and that buſineſs ſeemed to have paſſed all impediment. Nor were the Conſpirators who (to uſe the *French* Phraſe) made a conſiderable Figure in the Government, wholly averſe to the Parliaments meeting: For if the Houſe of Commons had after one years unfortunate War, made ſo vaſt a preſent to his Majeſty of 1250000*l*. but the laſt *February*, it ſeemed the argument would now be more preſſing upon them, that by how much the ill ſucceſſes, of this Year had been greater, they ought to give a yet more liberal Donative. And the

Conſpirators

Couſpirators as to their own particular reckoned, that while the Nation was under the more diſtreſs and hurry they were themſelves ſafer from Parliament, by the Publick Calamity.

A ſupply therefore was demanded with much more importunity, and aſſurance than ever before, and that it ſhould be a large one and a ſpeedy: They were told that it was now *Pro Aris & Focis*, all was at ſtake. And yet beſides all this, the Payment of the Debt to the Bankers upon ſhutting the Exchequer was very civilly recommended to them. And they were aſſured that his Majeſty would be conſtantly ready to give them all proofs of his Zeal for the true Religion and the Laws of the Realm, upon all occaſions: But the Houſe of Commons not having been ſufficiently prepared for ſuch demands, nor well ſatisfied in ſeveral matters of Fact, which appeared contrary to what was repreſented, took check; and firſt interpoſed in that tender point of his Royal Highneſs's Match, although ſhe was of his own Religion, which is a redoubled ſort of Marriage, or the more ſpiritual part of its Happineſs. Beſides, that ſhe had been already ſolemnly married by the Dukes Proxy, ſo that unleſs the Parliament had been Pope, and claimed a Power of Diſpenſation, it was now too late to avoid it. His Majeſty by a ſhort Prorogation of ſix days, when he underſtood their intention, gave them opportunity to have deſiſted: But it ſeems they judged the National Intereſt of Religion ſo far concerned in this matter, that they no ſooner meet again, but they drew up a ſecond Requeſt by way of Addreſs to his Majeſty, with their Reaſons againſt it. That for his Royal Highneſs to marry the Princeſs of *Modena*, or any other of that Religion, had very dangerous conſequences: That the minds of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects will be much diſquieted, thereby filled with infinite Diſcontents and Jealouſies. That his *Majeſty* would hereby be linked into ſuch a foreign Alliance, which will be of great diſadvantage, and poſſibly to the Ruine of the Proteſtant Religion. That they have found by ſad experience how ſuch Marriages have always increaſed Popery, and incouraged Prieſts and Jeſuits to pervert his Majeſties Subjects: That the Popiſh Party already lift up their heads in hopes of his Marriage: That they fear it may diminiſh the affection of the People toward his Royal Highneſs, who is by blood ſo near related to the Crown: That it is now more than one Age, that the Subjects have lived in continual apprehenſons of the increaſe of Popery, and the decay of the Proteſtant Religion: Finally, that ſhe having many Kindred and Relations in the Court of *Rome*, by this means their enterpriſes here might be facilitated, they might pierce into the moſt ſecret Counſels of his Majeſty, and diſcover the ſtate of the Realm. That the moſt learned men are of opinion, that Marriages no further Proceeded in, may lawfully be Diſſolved: And therefore they beſeech his Majeſty to Annul the Conſummation of it, and the rather, becauſe they have not yet the happineſs to ſee any of his Majeſty's own Lineage to Succeed in his Kingdoms.

/ Theſe Reaſons, which were extended more amply againſt his Royal Higneſs's Marriage, obtained more weight, becauſe moſt men are apt to judge of things by Circumſtances, and to attribute what happens by the Conjuncture of Times, to the Effect of Contrivance. So that it was not difficult to Interpret what was in his Royal Highneſs, an ingagement only of Honour and Affection, as proceeding from the Conſpirators Counſels, ſeeing it made ſo much to their purpoſe.

But the Buſineſs was too far advanced to retreat, as his Majeſty with great reaſon had replyed, to their former Addreſs, the Marriage having been celebrated already, and confirmed by his Royal Authority, and the Houſe of Commons though ſitting when the Duke was in a Treaty for the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, one of the ſame Religion, yet having taken no notice of it.

Therefore while they purſued the matter thus, by a ſecond Addreſs, it ſeemed an eaſier thing, and more decent, to Prorogue the Parliament, than to Diſſolve the Marriage. And which might more incline his Majeſty to this Reſolution, the Houſe of Commons had now bound themſelves by a Vote that having conſidered the preſent State of the Nation, they would not take into Deliberation, nor have any further Debate upon any other Propoſals of Aid or any Surcharge upon the Subject, before the payment of the *Twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds*, in *eighteen Months*, which was laſt granted, were expired, or at leaſt till they ſhould evidently ſee that the Obſtinacy of the *Hollanders* ſhould oblige them to the contrary, nor till after the Kingdom ſhould be effectually ſecured againſt the dangers of Popery, and Popiſh Counſellors, and that Order be taken againſt other preſent Miſdemeanours.

There was yet another thing, the Land-Army, which appearing to them expenſive, needleſs, and terrible to the People, they addreſſed to his Majeſty alſo, that they might be diſbanded. All which things put together, his Majeſty was induced to Prorogue the Parliament again for a ſhort time, till the *ſeventh* of *January*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy three*: That in the mean while the Princeſs of *Modena* arriving, the Marriage might be conſummated without further interruption.

That Seſſion was opened with a large deduction alſo, by the new Lord *Keeper*, this being his firſt Experiment, in the Lords Houſe of his Eloquence and Veracity, of the *Hollanders* averſneſs to Peace or Reaſon, and their uncivil and indirect dealing in all Overtures of Treaty with his Majeſty, and a Demand was made therefore and re-inforced as former, of a proportionable

portionable and ſpeedy Supply. But the *Hollanders* that had found themſelves obſtructed always hitherto, and in a manner excluded from all Applications, and that whatever means they had uſed was ſtill miſinterpreted, and ill repreſented, were ſo induſtrious, as by this time (which was perhaps the greateſt part of their Crime) to have undeceived the generality of the Nation in thoſe particulars.

The Houſe of Commons therefore not doubting, but that if they held their hands in matter of Money, a Peace would in due time follow, grew troubleſome rather to ſeveral of the great Miniſters of State, whom they ſuſpected to have been Principal in the late pernicious Counſels. But inſtead of the way of Impeachment, whereby the Crimes might have been brought to Examination, Proof and Judgment, they proceeded Sumarily within themſelves, noting them only with an ill Character, and requeſting his Majeſty to remove them from his Counſels, his Preſence, and their Publick Imployments. Neither in that way of handling were they Impartial.

Of the three which were queſtioned, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſeemed to have much the more favourable Cauſe, but had the ſevereſt Fortune. And this whole matter not having been managed in the ſolemn Methods of National Juſtice, but tranſmitted to his Majeſty, it was eaſily changed into a Court Intrigue, where though it be a Modern *Maxim*,

That no State Miniſter ought to be puniſhed, but, *eſpecially not upon Parliamentary Applications*:

Yet other Offenders thought it of ſecurity to themſelves, in a time of Publick Diſcontent, to have one Man ſacrificed, and ſo the Duke of *Buckingham* having worſe Enemies, and as it chanced worſe Friends, than the reſt, was after all his Services abandoned, they having only heard the ſound, while he felt all the ſmart of that Laſh from the Houſe of Commons.

But he was ſo far a Gainer, that with the loſs of his Offices, and dependance, he was reſtored to the Freedom of his own Spirit, to give thence forward thoſe admirable Proofs of the Vigour, and Vivacity of his better Judgment, in Aſſerting, though to his own Impriſonment, the due Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation.

This manner of proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, was a new way of negotiating the Peace with *Holland*, but the moſt effectual; the Conſpirators living all the while under continual apprehenſions of being called to further account for their Actions, and no mony appearing, which would either have perpetuated the War, or might, in caſe of a Peace, be miſapplied, to other uſes, than the building of Ships, inſinuated by the Lord Keeper.

The *Hollanders* Propoſals, by this means therefore, began to be thought more reaſonable, and the *Marquis del Freſno*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter in this Court, laboured ſo well, that his Majeſty thought fit to Communicate the Overture to both Houſes, and though their advice had not been asked to the War, yet not to make the Peace without it. There was not much difficulty in their reſolutions. For the general bent of the Nation was againſt the War, the *French* now had by their ill behaviour at Sea in all the Engagements, raiſed alſo the *Engliſh* Indignation, their pernicious Counſels were viſible in their Book of the *Politique Francoiſe*, tending by frequent Levies of Men, and mony, to exhauſt, and weaken our Kingdom, and by their conjunction with us, on ſet purpoſe, to raiſe betwixt the King and his People a rational Jealouſie of Popery, and *French* Government, till we ſhould inſenſibly devolve into them by Inclination or Neceſſity: As men of ill converſation pin themſelves maliciouſly on perſons more ſober, that if they can no otherwiſe debauch them, they may blaſt their Reputation by their ſociety, and ſo oblige them to theirs; being ſuſpected by better Company.

Beſides all which, the very reaſon of Traffick which hath been ſo long neglected by our greater Stateſmen, was now of ſome conſideration, for as much as by a Peace with the *Hollander* the greateſt part of the Trade and Navigation of *Europe* as long as the *French* King diſturbed it, would of courſe fall into the *Engliſh* management. The Houſes therefore gave their humble advice to his Majeſty for a juſt and honourable Peace with the States General, which when it could be no longer reſiſted, was concluded.

In the ſeventh Article of this Treaty it is ſaid:

That the Treaty which was made at Breda *in the year* 1667, *as alſo all the others which are by this preſent Treaty confirmed, ſhall by the preſent be renewed, and ſhall continue in their full force and vigour, as far as they ſhall not be contrary unto this ſaid preſent Treaty.*

Which words are the more to be taken notice of, that they may be compared afterwards with the effects that follow, to ſee how well on the *Engliſh* part that Agreement hath been obſerved.

The buſineſs of the Peace thus being once over, and this Parliament ſtill lowring upon the Miniſters of State, or boggling at the Land Forces (whereof the eight new raiſed Regiments were upon the Requeſt of the Commons at laſt disbanded) or imployed in further Bills againſt Popery, and for the Education, and Proteſtant Marriage henceforward of thoſe of the Royal Family; the neceſſity of their further ſitting ſeemed not ſo urgent, but that they might have a repoſe till the tenth of *November* 1674 following.

The Conſpirators had hitherto failed of the accompliſhing their deſign, by perpetual diſappointments, and which was moſt grievous to them, foreſaw, that the want of mony

would ſtill neceſſitate the frequent ſitting of Parliament, which danger they had hoped long e'er this to have conquered. In this ſtate of their Affairs the *French* King therefore was by no means to be further diſobliged, he being the Maſter of their ſecret, and the only perſon, which if they helped him at this plunge, might yet carry them thorow. They were therefore very diligent to profit themſelves of all the advantages to this purpoſe that their preſent poſture could afford them. They knew that his Majeſty being now diſengaged from War, would of his Royal Prudence interpoſe for Peace by his Mediation, it being the moſt glorious Character that any Prince can aſſume, and for which he was the more proper, as being the moſt Potent, thereby to give the ſway, and the moſt diſintereſted, whereby to give the Equity requiſite to ſuch a Negotiation; and the moſt obliged in Honour, as having been the occaſion by an unforeſeen conſequence of drawing the Sword of all this part of *Europe*. But if they feared any propenſion in his Majeſty to one party, it was toward *Spain*, as knowing how that Crown (as it is at large recited, and acknowledged, in the preamble of the laſt Treaty between *England* and *Holland*) had been the only inſtrument of the happy Peace which after that pernicious War we now enjoyed.

Therefore they were reſolved by all their influence, and induſtry (though the profit of the War did now wholly redound to the *Engliſh* Nation, and however in caſe of peace it was our Intereſt, that if any, *France* ſhould be depreſſed to any equality) to labour that by this mediation *France* might be the only gainer, and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect leiſure to attend their project upon *England*. And one of theſe our Stateſmen being preſſed, ſolved all Arguments to the contrary with an oraculous *French* queſtion,

Faut il que tout ſe faſſe par Politique, rien par Amitie?
Muſt all things be done by Maxims or reaſons of State; nothing for Affection?

Therefore that ſuch an abſurdity as the ordering of Affairs abroad, according to the Intereſt of our Nation might be avoided, the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Regiments, that were already in the *French* Service, were not only to be kept in their full Complement, but new numbers of Soldiers dayly tranſported thither, making up in all, as is related, at leaſt, a conſtant Body of *Ten Thouſand Men*, of his Majeſties Subjects, and which oftentimes turned the Fortune of Battel on the *French* ſide by their Valour.

How far this either conſiſted with the Office of a Mediator, or how conſonant it was to the ſeventh Article above mentioned, of the laſt Treaty with *Holland*, it is for them to demonſtrate who were the Authors. But it was indeed a good way to train up an Army, under the *French Diſcipline* and *Principles*, who might be ready ſeaſoned upon occaſion in *England*, to be called back and execute the ſame Counſels.

In the mean time, they would be trying yet what they could do at home. For the late proceedings of *Parliament*, in quaſhing the Indulgence, in queſtioning Miniſters of State, in Bills againſt *Popery*, in not granting Mony whenſoever asked, were Crimes not to be forgiven, nor (however the Conſpirators had provided for themſelves) named in the Act of General Pardon.

They began therefore after fifteen Years to remember that there were ſuch a ſort of men in *England* as the old Cavalier Party; and reckoned, that by how much the more generous, they were more credulous than others, and ſo more fit to be again abuſed. Theſe were told, that all was at Stake, Church and State (How truly ſaid! But meant, how falſly! That the Nation was running again into *Forty one*: That this was the time to refreſh their ancient merit, and receive the Recompence double of all their Loyalty, and that hence forward the Cavaliers ſhould have the Lottery of all the great or ſmall Offices in the Kingdom, and not ſo much as Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* to have a ſhare in it.

By this means they indeed deſigned to have raiſed a Civil War, for which they had all along provided, by new Forts, and ſtanding Forces, and to which they had on purpoſe both in *England* and *Scotland* given all provocation, if it would have been taken, that ſo they might have a *Raſe Campagne* of Religion, Government, and Propriety: or they hoped at leaſt by this means to fright the one party, and incourage the other, to give hence forward mony at pleaſure, and that mony on what Title ſoever granted, with what ſtamp coined, might be melted down for any other ſervice or uſes. But there could not have been a greater affront and indignity offered to thoſe Gentlemen (and the beſt did ſo reſent it) than, whether theſe hopes were real, to think them men that might be hired to any baſe action, or whether as hitherto but imaginary, that by erecting the late King's Statue that whole Party might be rewarded in Effigy.

While theſe things were upon the Anvil, the tenth of *November* was come for the Parliaments ſitting, but that was put off till the 13th of *April* 1675. And in the mean time, which fell out moſt opportune for the Conſpirators, theſe Counſels were matured, and ſomething further to be contrived; that was yet wanting: The Parliament accordingly meeting, and the Houſe of Lords, as well as that of the Commons, being in deliberation of ſeveral wholſome Bills, ſuch as the preſent State of the Nation required, the great Deſign came out in a Bill unexpectedly offered one morning in the Houſe of Lords, whereby all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial Office, or Imployment, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military, to which was added,

Privy

Privy Counſellors, Juſtices of the Peace, and Members of Parliament, were under a Penalty to take the Oath, and make the Declaration, and Abhorrence, inſuing

I A. B. Do Declare, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition, of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not at any time indeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State. So help me God.

This ſame Oath had been brought into the Houſe of Commons in the Plague year at *Oxford*, to have been impoſed upon the Nation, but there, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe very ſame perſons, that now introduce it, 'twas thrown out, for fear of a General Infection of the Vitals of this Kingdom: And though it paſſed then in a particular Bill, Known by the name of the *Five-mile Act*, becauſe it only concerned the Non-conformiſt Preachers, yet even in that, it was throughly oppoſed by the late Ear of *Southampton*, whoſe Judgment might well have been reckoned for the *Standard of Prudence and Loyalty*. It was indeed happpily ſaid, by the Lord Keeper, in the opening of this Seſſion, *No Influences of the Stars, no Configuration of the Heavens, are to be feared, ſo long as theſe two Houſes ſtand in a Good Diſpoſition to each other, and both of them in a happy Conjunction, with their Lord and Soveraign.* But if he had ſo early this Act in his proſpect, the ſame *Aſtrology* might have taught him, that there is nothing more portentous, and of worſe *Omen*, than when ſuch an Oath hangs over a Nation, like a New *Comet* foreboding the Alteration of Religion, or Government: Such was the *Holy League* in *France* in the Reign of *Henry the Third*. Such in the time of *Philip the Second*, the Oath in the *Netherlands*. And ſo the Oaths in our late King's time taught the Fanaticks, becauſe they could not ſwear, yet to Covenant. Such things therefore are, if ever, not needleſsly thought for good fortune ſake only to be attempted, and when was there any thing leſs neceſſary? No King of *England* had ever ſo great a Treaſure of this Peoples Affections, except what thoſe ill men have, as they have done all the reſt, conſumed; whom but out of an exceſs of Love to his Perſon, the Kingdom would never (for it never did formerly) ſo long have ſuffered: The Old Acts of Allegiance, and Supremacy, were ſtill in their full Vigour, unleſs againſt the Papiſts, and even againſt them too of late, whenſoever the way was to be ſmoothed for a liberal Seſſion of Parliament. And moreover to put the Crown in full ſecurity, this Parliament had by an Act of theirs determined a Queſtion which the wiſdom of their Anceſtors had never decided, that the King hath the ſole power of the *Militia*. And therefore my Lord Keeper did by his patronizing this Oath, too groſly prevaricate, againſt two very good *State Maxims*, in his *Harangue* to the Parliament, for which he had conſulted not the *Aſtrologer*, but the *Hiſtorian*, adviſing them firſt, That they ſhould not *Quieta movere*, that is, ſaid he, *when men ſtir thoſe things or Queſtions which are, and ought to be in peace.* And ſecondly, That they ſhould not *Res parvas magnis motibus agere*: that is, ſaith he again, *when as much weight is laid upon a new and not always neceſſary Propoſition as if the whole ſum of Affairs depended upon it.*

And this Oath, it ſeems, was the little thing he meant of, being forſooth but a *Moderate Security to the Church and Crown*, as he called it, but which he and his party *laid ſo much weight on, as if the whole ſum of Affairs did depend upon it.*

But as to the *Quieta movere*, or ſtirring of thoſe things or Queſtions which are and ought to be in peace, was not this ſo, of taking Arms againſt the King upon any pretence whatſoever? And was not that alſo in Peace, of the *Traiterous Poſition* of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon? Had not the three Acts of *Corporations*, of *Militia*, and the *Five Miles*, ſufficiently quieted it? Why was it further *ſtirred?* But being ſtirred, it raiſes in mens thoughts many things more; ſome leſs, others more to the purpoſe.

Sir *Walter Tirrels* Arrow grazed upon the Deer it was ſhot at, but by that chance killed King *William Rufus*; yet ſo far was it that Sir *Walter* ſhould for that chance-ſhot be adjudged of Treaſon, that we do not perceive he underwent any other Tryal like that of *Manſlaughter*: But which is more to the point, it were difficult to inſtance a Law either in this or other Country, but that a private Man, if any King in Chriſtendom aſſault him, may, having retreated to the Wall, ſtand upon his Guard; and therefore, if this matter as to a particular man be dubious, it was not ſo prudent to *ſtir* it in the General, being ſo well ſettled. And as to all other things, though ſince Lord *Chancellor*, he hath in his Speech of the 15 of *Feb. One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy ſix*, ſaid (to teſtifie his own abhorrency) *Away with that ill-meant diſtinction between the Natural and the Politique Capacity.* He is too well read to be ignorant that without that Diſtinction there would be no Law nor Reaſon of Law left in *England*; To which end it was, and to put all out of doubt, that it is alſo required in this *Teſt*, to declare mens abhorrency as of a *Traiterous Poſition*, to take Arms againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion; and yet neither is the Tenour, or Rule, of any ſuch Commiſſion ſpecified, nor the Qualification of thoſe that ſhall be armed with ſuch Commiſſions, expreſſed or limited. Never was ſo much ſence contained in ſo few words. No Conveyancer could ever in more Compendious or binding terms have drawn a Diſſettlement of the whole Birth-right of *England*.

For

For as to the Commiſſion, if it be to take away any mans Eſtate, or his Life by force, yet it is the Kings Commiſſion: Or if the Perſon Commiſſionate, be under never ſo many Diſabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this Oath, removes all thoſe Incapacities, or his Commiſſion makes it not Diſputable. But if a man ſtand upon his Defence, a good Judge for the Purpoſe, finding that the Poſition is *Traitorous*, will declare that by this Law he is to be executed for Treaſon.

Theſe things are no Niceties, or remote Conſiderations (though in making of Laws, and which muſt come afterwards under Conſtruction of Judges, *Durante Bene-placito*, all Caſes are to be put and imagined) but there being an Act in *Scotland* for *Twenty Thouſand Men* to March into *England* upon Call, and ſo great a Body of *Engliſh* Soldiery in *France*, within Summons, beſides what *Foreigners* may be obliged by Treaty to furniſh, and it being ſo freſh in memory, what ſort of perſons had lately been in Commiſſion among us, to which add the many Books, then Printed by Licenſe, Writ, ſome by Men of the *Black*, one of the *Green Cloath*, wherein the Abſoluteneſs of the *Engliſh* Monarchy is againſt all Law aſſerted.

All theſe Conſiderations put together, were ſufficient to make any honeſt and well-adviſed man, to conceive indeed, that upon paſſing of this Oath and Declaration *the whole ſum of Affairs depended.*

It grew therefore to the greateſt conteſt, that has perhaps ever been in Parliament, wherein thoſe Lords, that were againſt this Oath, being aſſured of their own Loyalty and Merit, ſtood up now for the *Engliſh* Liberties with the ſame Genius, Virtue and Courage, that their Noble Anceſtors had formerly defended the *Great Charter of England*, but with ſo much greater Commendation, in that they had here a fairer Field, and the more Civil way of Deciſion: They fought it out under all the diſadvantages imaginable: They were overlaid by Numbers; the noiſe of the Houſe, like the Wind was againſt them, and if not the Sun, the Fire-ſide was always in their Faces; nor being ſo few, could they, as their Adverſaſaries, withdraw to refreſh themſelves in a whole days Ingagement: Yet never was there a clearer Demonſtration how dull a thing is humane Eloquence, and Greatneſs how Little, when the bright Truth diſcovers all things in their proper Colours and Dimenſions, and ſhining ſhoots its Beams throrow all their Fallacies. It might be injurious, where all of them did ſo excellently well, to attribute more to any one of thoſe Lords than another, unleſs becauſe the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* have been the more reproached for this brave Action, it be requiſite by a double proportion of Praiſe to ſet them two on equal terms with the reſt of their Companions in Honour. The particular Relation of this Debate, which laſted many days with great eagerneſs on both ſides, and the Reaſons but on one, was in the next Seſſion burnt by Order of the Lords, but the Sparks of it will eternally fly in their Adverſaries Faces.

Now before this *Teſt* could in ſo vigorous an oppoſition paſs the Houſe of Peers, there aroſe unexpectedly a great Controverſie betwixt the two Houſes, concerning their Privileges on this occaſion, the Lords according to their undoubted Right, being the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Nation, had upon Petition of Doctor *Shirley*, taken cognizance of a Cauſe between him and Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and of other Appeals from the Court of Chancery, which the Commons, whether in good earneſt, which I can hardly believe, or rather ſome crafty Parliament men among them, having an eye upon the *Teſt*, and to prevent the hazard of its coming among them, preſently took hold of, and blew the Coals to ſuch a degree, that there was no quenching them.

In the Houſe of Peers both Parties, as in a point of their own Privilege, eaſily united, and were no leſs inflamed againſt the Commons, and to uphold their own ancient Juriſdiction; wherein nevertheleſs both the Lords for the *Teſt*, and thoſe againſt it, had their own particular reaſons, and might have accuſed each other perhaps of ſome artifice; the matter in concluſion was ſo husbanded on all ſides, that any longer converſe betwixt the two Houſes grew impracticable, and his Majeſty Prorogued them therefore till the 13th of *October* 1675, following: And in this manner that fatal *Teſt* which had given ſo great diſturbance to the minds of our Nation, dyed the *ſecond Death* which in the language of the Divines, is as much as to ſay, it was *Damned.*

The Houſe of Commons had not in that Seſſion been wanting to Vote 300000 *l.* towards the Building of Ships, and to draw a Bill for appropriating the Ancient *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, amounting to 400000 *l.* yearly, to the uſe of the Navy, as it ought in Law already, and had been granted formerly upon that ſpecial Truſt and Confidence, but neither did that 300000 *l.* although Competent at preſent, and but an earneſt for future meeting, ſeem conſiderable, and had it been more, yet that Bill of appropriating any thing to its true uſe, was a ſufficient cauſe to make them both miſcarry, but upon pretence of the Quarrel between the Lords and Commons in which the Seſſion thus ended,

The Conſpirators had this interval to reflect upon their own Affairs. They ſaw that the King of *France* (as they called him) was ſo buſie abroad, that he could not be of farther uſe, yet, to them here, than by his directions, while his Armies were by aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Forces

Forces, ſeveral times ſaved from ruines. They conſidered that the *Teſt* was defeated, by which the Papiſts hoped to have had *Repriſals* for that of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the Conſpirators to have gained Commiſſion, as extenſive and arbitrary, as the malice of their own hearts could dictate: That herewith they had miſſed of a Legality to have raiſed mony without Conſent of Parliament, or to impriſon or execute whoſoever ſhould oppoſe them in *purſuance of ſuch their Commiſſion.* They knew it was in vain to expect that his Majeſty in that want, or rather opinion of want, which they had reduced him to, ſhould be diverted from holding this Seſſion of Parliament: nor were they themſelves for this once wholly averſe to it, for they preſumed either way to find their own account, that if money were granted it ſhould be attributed to their influence, and remain much within their diſpoſal, but if not granted, that by joyning this with other accidents of Parliament, they might ſo repreſent things to his Majeſty as to incenſe him againſt them, and diſtruſting all Parliamentary Advice, to take Counſel from themſelves, from *France*, and from Neceſſity.

And in the mean time they fomented all the Jealouſies which they cauſed. They continued to inculcate *Forty and One* in Court, and Country.

Thoſe that refuſed all the mony they demanded, were to be the only Recuſants, and all that aſſerted the Liberties of the Nation, were to be reckoned in the *Claſſis* of *Presbyterians.*

The 13*th* of *October* came, and his Majeſty now asked not only a Supply for his building of Ships, as formerly, but further, to take off the *Anticipation* upon his *Revenue.*

The Houſe of Commons took up again ſuch Publick Bills as they had on foot in their former ſitting, and others that might either Remedy Preſent, or Prevent Future Miſchiefs.

The Bill for *Habeas Corpus.*

That againſt ſending men Priſoners beyond Sea.

That againſt raiſing Mony without Conſent of Parliament.

That againſt Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe.

Another Act for ſpeedier convicting of Papiſts.

That for recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the *French* Service, *&c.* And as to his Majeſty's Supply, they proceeded in their former Method of the two Bills, One for raiſing 300000 *l.* and the other for appropriating the *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to the uſe of the Navy.

And in the Lords Houſe there was a good diſpoſition toward things of publick Intereſt: But 300000 *l.* was ſo inſipid a thing to thoſe who had been continually regaled with Millions, and that Act of Appropriation, with ſome others, went ſo much againſt ſtomach that there wanted only an opportunity to reject them, and that which was readieſt at hand was the late quarrel betwixt the Houſe of Lords and the Commons. The Houſe of Commons did now more peremptorily than ever, oppoſe the Lords Juriſdiction in Appeals: The Lords on the other ſide were reſolved not to depart from ſo eſſential a Privilege and Authority, but to proceed in the Exerciſe of it: So that this Diſpute was raiſed to a greater Ardure and Contention than ever, and there appeared no way of Accommodation. Hereupon the Lords were in conſultation for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, containing many weighty Reaſons for his Majeſties diſſolving this Parliament, deduced from the nature and behaviour of the preſent Houſe of Commons: But his Majeſty, although the Tranſaction between the two Houſes was at preſent become impracticable, Judging that this Houſe might at ſome other time be of uſe to him, choſe only to Prorogue the Parliament; The blame of it was not only laid, but aggravated, upon thoſe in Both Houſes, but eſpecially on the Lords Houſe, who had moſt vigorouſly oppoſed the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt. But thoſe who were preſent at the Lords, and obſerved the conduct of the Great Miniſters there, conceived of it otherwiſe; And as to the Houſe of Commons, who in the heat of the Conteſt, had Voted,

That whoſoever ſhall ſollicite or proſecute any Appeal againſt any Commoner of England, *from any Court of Equity before the Houſe of Lords, ſhall be deemed and taken a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of* England, *and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly.*

Their Speaker going thorow *Weſtminſter Hall* to the Houſe, and looking down upon ſome of thoſe Lawyers, commanded his Mace to ſeiſe them, and led them up Priſoners with him, which it is preſumed, that he being of his Majeſties Privy Council, would not have done, but for what ſome men call his Majeſties *Service*; and yet it was the higheſt, this of all the Provocations which the Lords had received in this Controverſie. But however, this fault ought to be divided, there was a greater committed in Proroguing the Parliament, from the 22*th* of *November*, 1675, unto the 15*th* of *February*, 1676. And holding it after that diſmiſſion, there being no Record of any ſuch thing done ſince the being of Parliaments in *England*, and the whole Reaſon of Law no leſs than the Practice and Cuſtom holding contrary.

This vaſt ſpace betwixt the meetings of Parliament cannot more properly be filled up, than with the coherence of thoſe things abroad and at home, that thoſe that are intelligent may obſerve whether the Conſpirators found any interruption, or did not rather ſuite this event alſo to the Continuance of their Counſels. The Earl of *Northampton* is not to be eſteemed as one engaged in thoſe Counſels, being a perſon of too great Honour, though the advancingof him to be *Conſtable of the Tower*, was the firſt of our Domeſtick Occurrents. But if they could have any hand in it, 'tis more probable that leſt he might perceive their Contri-

vances, they apparalled him in ſo much Wall to have made him inſenſible. However men conjectured even then by the Quality of the Keeper, that he was not to be diſparaged with any mean and vulgar Priſoners. But another thing was all along very remarkable, That during this Inter-Parliament, there were five Judges places either fell, or were made vacant, (for it was ſome while before that Sir *Francis North* had been created Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas;) the five that ſucceeded, were Sir *Richard Rainsford*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings Bench*; *Mountague*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; *Vere Bartie*, Barriſter at Law, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *William Scroggs*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*; And Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Juſtices of the *Kings Bench*. Concerning all whom there is ſomething too much to be ſaid; and it is not out of a figure of ſpeech, but for meer reverence of their Profeſſion that I thus paſs it over, conſidering alſo humane infirmity, and that they are all by their Patents, *Durante Bemplacito*, bound as it were to their Good Behaviour. And it is a ſhame to think what trivial, and to ſay the beſt of them, obſcure perſons have and do ſtand next in proſpect, to come and ſit by them. Juſtice *Atkins* alſo by Warping too far towards the Laws, was in danger upon another pretence to have made way for ſome of them, but upon true Repentance and Contrition, with ſome *Alms-Deeds*, was admitted to Mercy; and all the reſt of the benches will doubtleſs have profited much by his, and ſome other example. Alas the Wiſdom and Probity of the Law went off for the moſt part with good Sir *Matthew Hales*, and Juſtice is made a meer property. This poyſonous Arrow ſtrikes to the very heart of Government, and could come from no Quiver but that of the Conſpirators. What *French* Counſel, what ſtanding Forces, what Parliamentary Bribes, what National Oaths, and all the other Machinations of wicked men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiouſly Acted by twelve Judges in Scarlet.

The next thing conſiderable that appeared preparatory for the next Seſſions, was a Book that came out by publick Authority, Intitled *Conſiderations touching the true way to ſuppreſs Popery*, &c. A very good deſign, and writ, I believe, by a very good man, but under ſome miſtakes, which are not to be paſſed over. One in the Preface, wherein he ſaith, *The Favour here propoſed in behalf of the Romaniſts, is not more than they enjoy among Proteſtants abroad at this day.* This I take not to be true either in *Denmark* or *Sweden*, and ſome other Countries where Popery is wholly ſuppreſſed; and therefore if that have been effected there, in ways of prudence and conſiſting with Chriſtianity, it ought not to have been in ſo general words miſrepreſented.

Another is, *P.* 59, and 60; a thing ill and dangerouſly ſaid, concluding; *I know but one Inſtance, that of* David *in* Gath, *of a man that was put to all theſe ſtraits, and yet not Corrupted in his principles.* When there was a more illuſtrious Example near him, and more obvious.

What elſe I have to ſay in paſſing, is, as to the Ground-work of his whole deſign; which is to bring men nearer, as by a diſtinction betwixt the Church and Court of *Rome*, a thing long attempted, but ineffectually, it being the ſame thing as to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Church of *England*, and the *Engliſh* Biſhops, which cannot be ſeparated. But the intention of the Author, was doubtleſs very honeſt, and the *Engliſh* of that Profeſſion, are certainly of all *Papiſts* the moſt ſincere and moſt worthy of favour; but this ſeemed no proper time to negotiate further than the Publick Convenience.

There was another Book likewiſe that came out by Authority, towards the Approach of the Seſſion, Intitled, *A Packet of Advice to the men of Shaftsbury, &c.* But the name of the Author was concealed, not out of any ſpark of modeſty, but that he might with more ſecurity exerciſe his Impudence, not ſo much againſt thoſe Noble Lords, as againſt all Publick Truth and Honeſty. The whole compoſition is nothing elſe but an Infuſion of Malice, in the Froath of the Town, and the Scum of the *Univerſity*, by the Preſcription of the Conſpirators. Nor, therefore did the Book deſerve naming, no more than the Author, but that they ſhould rot together in their own Infamy, had not the firſt events of the following Seſſion made it remarkable, that the Wizard dealt with ſome Superior Intelligence.

And on the other ſide, ſome ſcattering Papers ſtraggled out in Print, as is uſual for the Information of Parliament Men, in the matter of Law concerning Prorogation, which all of them, it is to be preſumed, underſtood not, but was like to prove therefore a great Queſtion.

As to matters abroad from the Year 1674, That the Peace was concluded betwixt *England* and *Holland*; the *French* King, as a mark of his diſpleaſure, and to humble the *Engliſh Nation*, let looſe his Privateers among our Merchant Men: There was thenceforth no ſecurity of Commerce or Navigation notwithſtanding the poblick Amity betwixt the two Crowns, but at Sea they Murthered, Plundered, made Prize, and Confiſcated thoſe they met with. Their Picaroons laid before the Mouth of our Rivers, hovered all along the Coaſt, took our Ships in the very Ports, that we were in a manner blocked up by Water. And if any made application at his Sovereign *Port* for Juſtice, they were inſolently baffled, except ſome few, that by Sir *Ellis Leighton's* Intereſt, who made a ſecond prize of them, were redeemed upon eaſier Compoſition. In this manner it continued from 1674, till the latter end of 1676 without remedy, even till the time of the Parliaments Sitting: ſo that men doubted whether even the

Conſpirators

Conſpirators were not Complices alſo in the matter, and found partly their own account in it. For evidence of what is ſaid, formerly, the Paper at the end of this Treatiſe annexed may ſerve, returned by ſome Members of the Privy Council to his Majeſties Order, to which was alſo adjoyned a Regiſter of ſo many of the *Engliſh* Ships as then came to notice which the *French* had taken, (and to this day ceaſe not to treat our Merchants at the ſame rate.) And yet all this while that they made theſe intolerable and barbarous Piracies, and Depredations upon his Majeſties Subjects, from hence they were more diligently than ever ſupplied with Recruits, and thoſe that would go voluntarily into the *French* Service were incouraged, others that would not, preſſed, impriſoned, and carried over by main force, and conſtraint, even as the Parliament here was ready to ſit down; notwithſtanding all their former frequent applications to the contrary. And his Majeſties Magazines were daily emptied, to furniſh the *French* with all ſorts of Ammunition, of which the following Note contains but a ſmall parcel, in compariſon of what was dayly conveyed away, under colour of Cockets for *Jarſey*, and other places.

A ſhort Account of ſome Ammunition, &c. *Exported from the Port of* London *to* France, *from* June, 1675 *to* June 1677.

Granadoes without number, Shipt off under the colour of unwrought *Iron*. *Lead Shot* 21 Tuns. *Gunpowder* 7134 Barrels. *Iron Shot* 18 Tun, 600 Weight: *Match* 88 Tun, 1900 Weight. *Iron Ordinance* 441, Quantity, 292 Tuns, 900 Weight. Carriages, Bandiliers, Pikes, *&c.* uncertain.

Thus was the *French* King to be gratified for undoing us by Sea with contributing all that we could rap and rend of Men, or Amunition at Land, to make him more potent againſt us, and more formidable.

Thus are we at length arrived at this much controverted, and as much expected Seſſion. And though the way to it hath proved much longer than was intended in the entry of this diſcourſe, yet is it very ſhort of what the matter would have afforded, but is paſt over to keep within bounds of this Volumn. The *15th* of *February* 1676 came, and that very ſame day, the *French* King appointed his March for *Flanders*. It ſeemed that his motions were in juſt *Cadence*, and that as in a *Grand Balet*, he kept time with thoſe that were tuned here to his meaſure. And he thought it a becoming *Gallantry*, to take the reſt of *Flanders*, our natural Out-work in the very face of the King of *England* and his *Petites Maiſons* of Parliament.

His Majeſty demanded of the Parliament in his Speech at the opening of the Seſſions, a *Supply for Building of Ships, and the further continuance of the Additional Exciſe upon Beer and Ale*, which was to expire the *24th* of *June* 1677, and *recommended earneſtly a good correſpondence between the two Houſes, repreſenting their laſt Differences as the reaſon of ſo long a Prorogation*, to allay them. The Lord Chancellor, as is uſual with him, ſpoiled all, which the King had ſaid ſo well, with ſtraining to do it better; For indeed the miſchances of all the Seſſions ſince he had the Seals, may in great part be aſcribed to his indiſcreeet & unlucky Eloquence. And had not the Lord Treaſurer a far more effectual way of Perſwaſion with the Commons, there had been the ſame danger of the ill ſucceſs of this Meeting, as of thoſe formerly. Each Houſe being now ſeated, the caſe of this long Prorogation had taken place ſo far without doors, and was of that conſequence to the Conſtitution of all Parliaments, and the Validity of all proceedings in this Seſſion, that even the Commons, though ſore againſt their inclination, could not paſs it over. But they handled it ſo tenderly, as if they were afraid to touch it.

The firſt day, inſtead of the Queſtion, whether the Parliament were by this unpreſidented Prorogation indeed *Diſſolved*; it was propoſed ſomething ridiculouſly, Whether this *Prorogation were not an Adjournment?* And this Debate too they Adjourned till the next day, and from thence they put it off till the *Munday* Morning. Then thoſe that had propoſed it, yet before they would enter upon the Debate, asked, Whether they might have liberty? as if that had not been more than implyed before, by Adjourning the Debate, and as if Freedom of Speech were not a Conceſſion of Right, which the King grants at the firſt opening of all Parliaments. But by this faintneſs, and half-counſel, they taught the Houſe to deny them it. And ſo all that matter was wrapped up in a cleanly Queſtion, Whether their grand Committees ſhould ſit, which involving the Legitimacy of the Houſes ſitting, was carried in the Affirmative, as well as their own heart could wiſh: But in the Lords Houſe it went otherwiſe. For the firſt day, as ſoon as the Houſes were ſeparate, the *Duke of Buckingham*, who uſually ſaith what he thinks, argued by all the Laws of Parliament, and with great ſtrength of reaſon, that this *Prorogation* was Null and this Parliament conſequently Diſſolved, offering moreover to maintain it to all the Judges, and deſiring as had been uſual in ſuch Caſes, but would not here be admitted, that even they might give their opinions. But my Lord *Frechwel* as a better Judge of ſo weighty a point in Law, did of his great Courtſhip move, That the *Duke of Buckingham* might be called to the Bar, which being oppoſed by the Lord *Salisbury*, as an extravagant motion, but the *Duke of Buckingham*'s propoſal aſſerted, with all the *Ceciliam* height of Courage and Reaſon, the Lord *Arundell* of *Trerife* a Peer of no leſs conſideration, and Authority, than my Lord *Frechwell*, and as much out of order, as if the Salt had been thrown down, or an Hare had croſſed his way, Opening, renewed the motion for calling

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the *Duke* to the Bar; But there were yet too many Lords between, and the *Couriers* of the Houſe of Commons brought up advice every moment, that the matter was yet in agitation among them; ſo that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had opportunity to appear with ſuch extraordinary vigour, both in what concerned the Duke of *Buckingham*'s perſon and his Propoſal, that as the Duke of *Buckingham* might have ſtood ſingle in any rational conteſt, ſo the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was more properly another Principal, than his Second. The Lord *Chancellor* therefore in anſwer undertook, on the contrary, to make the *Prorogation* look very formal, laying the beſt colours upon it, after his manner when Advocate, that the Cauſe would bear, (and the worſt upon his Opponents) but ſuch as could never yet endure the Day-light. Thus for five or ſix hours it grew a fixed Debate, many arguing it in the regular method, till the expected news came, that the Commons were roſe without doing any thing; whereupon the greater number called for the Queſtion, and had it in the Affirmative, that the Debate ſhould be laid aſide.

And being thus flushed, but not ſatisfied with their Victory, they fell upon their Adverſaries in cool blood, queſtioning ſuch as they thought fit, that ſame night, and the morrow after, ſentencing them, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Wharton* to be committed to the Tower, under the notion of Contempt, during his Majeſties, and the Houſes pleaſure. That Contempt, was their refuſing to recant their Opinion, and ask pardon of the King, and the Houſe of Lords. Thus a *Prorogation* without Preſident, was to be warranted by an Impriſonment without Example. A ſad Inſtance, and whereby the Dignity of Parliament, and eſpecially of the Houſe of Peers, did at preſent much ſuffer, and may probably more for the future; for nothing but Parliament can deſtroy Parliament. If a Houſe ſhall once be Felon of it ſelf, and ſtop its own breath, taking away that liberty of ſpeech, which the King verbally, and of courſe, allows them, (as now they had done in both Houſes) to what purſoſe is it coming thither? But it was now over, and by the weakneſs, in the Houſe of Commons, and the Force in the Houſe of Lords, this preſumptuous Seſſion was thus far ſettled, and confirmed; ſo that henceforward men begun to wipe their Mouths, as if nothing had been, and to enter upon the Publick Buſineſs.

And it is remarkable that ſhortly after, upon occaſion of a diſcourſe among the Commons, concerning *Libels* and *Pamphlets*, firſt one Member of them ſtood up, and in the face of their Houſe, ſaid, *That it was affirmed to him, by a perſon that might be ſpoke with, that there were among them, thirty, forty, fifty, God knows how many, Outlawed.* *Another* thereupon roſe, and told them, *It was reported too, that there were divers of the Members Papiſts*; A third, *That a multitude of them were Bribed, and Penſioners.* And yet all this was patiently huſhed up by their Houſe, and digeſted, being it ſeems a thing of that Nature, which there is no Reply to; which may very well adminiſter, and deſerve a ſerious Reflection, how great an opportunity this Houſe of Commons loſt, of ingratiating themſelves with the Nation, by acknowledging in this Convention their invalidity to proceed in Parliament, and by addreſſing to his Majeſty as being *Diſſolved*, for a *Diſmiſſion*. For were it ſo, that all the Laws of *England* require, and the very Conſtitution of our Government, as well as Experience, teaches the neceſſity of the frequent Meeting, and change of *Parliaments*, and ſuppoſe that Queſtion concerning this *Prorogation*, were by the Cuſtom of *Parliaments* to be juſtified, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that deſires to maintain the reputation of an honeſt man, would not have laid hold upon ſo plauſible an occaſion, to break company when it was grown ſo ſcandalous. For it is too notorious to be concealed, that near a third part of the Houſe have Beneficial Offices under his Majeſty, in the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Houſhold, the Revenue both in *England* and *Ireland*, or in attendance on his Majeſties Perſon. Theſe are all of them indeed to be eſteemed Gentlemen of Honour, but more or leſs according to the quality of their ſeveral Imployments under his Majeſty, and it is to be preſumed that they brought along with them ſome Honour of their own into his ſervice at firſt to ſet up with. Nor is it fit that ſuch an Aſſembly ſhould be deſtitute of them to inform the Commons of his Majeſties Affairs, and communicate his Counſels, ſo that they do not by irregular procuring of Elections in place where they have no proper intereſt, thruſt out the Gentlemen that have, and thereby diſturb the ſeveral Countrys; nor that they croud into the Houſe in numbers beyond modeſty, and which inſtead of giving a Temper to their deliberations, may ſeem to affect the predominance. For although the Houſe of Peers, beſides their ſupreme and ſole Judicature, have an equal power in the Legiſlature with the Houſe of Commons, and as the ſecond thoughts in the Government have often corrected their errors: yet it is to be confeſſed, that the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes there aſſembled, are the Repreſenters of the People of *England*, and are more peculiarly impowered by them to tranſact concerning the Religion, Lives, Liberties, and the Propriety of the Nation. And therefore no Honourable Perſon, related to his Majeſties more particular ſervice, but will in that place and opportunity ſuſpect himſelf, leſt his Gratitude to his Maſter, with his ſelf intereſt ſhould tempt him beyond his obligation there to the Publick. The ſame excludes him that may next inherit from being Guardian to an Infant, not but there may the ſame affection and integrity be found in thoſe of the Father's ſide as thoſe on the Mother's, but

out of decent and humane caution, and in like manner however his Majeſties Officers may be of as ſound and untainted reputation as the beſt, yet common Diſcretion would teach them not to ſeek after and ingroſs ſuch different Truſts in thoſe bordering Intereſts of the King and Country, where from the People they have no Legal Advantage, but ſo much may be gained by betraying them. How improper would it ſeem for a Privy Counſellor if in the Houſe of Commons he ſhould not juſtifie the moſt arbitrary Proceedings of the Council Table, repreſent Affairs of State with another face, defend any miſgovernment, patronize the greateſt Offenders againſt the Kingdom, even though they were too his own particular Enemies, and extend the ſuppoſed Prerogative on all occaſions, to the detriment of the Subjects certain and due Liberties! What ſelf-denyal were it in the Learned Counſel at Law, did they not vindicate the Miſdemeanours of the Judges, perplex all Remedies againſt the Corruptions and Incroachment of Courts of Judicature, Word all Acts towards the Advantage of their own Profeſſion, palliate unlawful Elections, extenuate and advocate Publick Crimes, where the Criminal may prove conſiderable; ſtep into the chair of a Mony Bill, and pen the Clauſes ſo dubiouſly, that they may be interpretable in *Weſtminſter-Hall* beyond the Houſes intention, miſlead the Houſe, not only in point of Law, but even in matter of Fact, without any reſpect to *Veracity*, but all to his own further Promotion! What Soldier in Pay but might think himſelf fit to be caſhiered, ſhould he oppoſe the increaſe of Standing Forces, the Depreſſion of Civil Authority, or the Levying of Mony by whatſoever means or in what Quantity? Or who of them ought not to abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by the King's Authority againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion? What Officer of the Navy but takes himſelf under Obligation to magnifie the Expence, extol the management, conceal the neglect, increaſe the Debts, and preſs the Neceſſity, rigging and unrigging it to the Houſe in the ſame moment, and repreſenting it all at once in a good and a bad condition? ſhould any Member of Parliament and of the Exchequer omit to transform the Accounts, conceal the Iſſues, heighten the Anticipations, and in deſpite of himſelf oblige whoſoever chance to be Lord Treaſurer; might not his Reverſioner juſtly expect to be put into preſent Poſſeſſion of the Office? Who that is either concerned in the Cuſtoms, or of their Brethren of the Exciſe, can with any decency refuſe, if they do not invent, all further Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe, Navigation, or our own Domeſtick Growth and Conſumption; and if the Charge be but Temporary, to perpetuate it? Hence it ſhall come that inſtead of relieving the Crown by the good old and certain way of Subſidies, wherein nothing was to be got by the Houſe of Commons, they deviſed this Foreign Courſe of Revenue, to the great Greivance and double charge of the People, that ſo many of the Members might be gratified in the Farms or Commiſſions.

But to conclude this digreſſion whatſoever other Offices have been ſet up for the uſe of the Members, or have been extinguiſhed upon occaſion, ſhould they have failed at a Queſtion, did not they deſerve to be turned out? Were not all the Votes as it were in *Fee Farm*, of thoſe that were intruſted with the ſale? Muſt not *Surinam* be a ſufficient cauſe of quarrel with *Holland*, to any Commiſſioner of the Plantations? Or who would have denyed Mony to continue the War with *Holland*, when he were a Commiſſioner of Prizes, of Sick and Wounded, of Tranſporting the *Engliſh*, or of Starving the *Dutch* Priſoners? How much greater then would the hardſhip be for thoſe of his Majeſties Houſhold, or who attend upon his Royal Perſon, to forget by any chance Vote, or in being abſent from the Houſe, that they are his Domeſtick Servants? Or that all thoſe of the capacity above-mentioned are to be looked upon as a diſtinct Body under another Diſcipline; and whatſoever they may commit in the Houſe of Commons againſt the National Intereſt, they take themſelves to be juſtified by their Circumſtances, their hearts indeed are, they ſay, with the Country, and one of them had the boldneſs to tell his Majeſty, That he was come from Voting in the Houſe *Againſt his Conſcience*.

And yet theſe Gentlemen being full, and already in Imployment, are more good natured and leſs dangerous to the Publick, than thoſe that are hungry and out of Office, who may by probable computation, make another Third part of this Houſe of Commons. Thoſe are ſuch as having obſerved by what ſteps, or rather leaps and ſtrides, others of their Houſe have aſcended into the higheſt places of the Kingdom, do upon meaſuring their own Birth, Eſtates, Parts, and Merit, think themſelves as well and better qualified in all reſpects as their former Companions. They are generally men, who by ſpeaking againſt the *French*, inveighing againſt the Debauches of Court, talking of the ill management of the Revenue, and ſuch Popular Flouriſhes, have cheated the Countries into Electing them; and when they come up, if they can ſpeak in the Houſe, they make a faint attack or two upon ſome great Miniſter of State, and perhaps relieve ſome other that is in danger of Parliament, to make themſelves either way conſiderable.

In matters of money they ſeem at firſt difficult, but having been diſcourſed with in private, they are ſet right, and begin to underſtand it better themſelves, and to convert their Brethren: For they are all of them to be bought and ſold, only their Number makes them cheaper, and each of them doth ſo overvalue himſelf, that ſometimes they outſtand or let ſlip their own Market.

It is not to be imagined, how ſmall things in this caſe, even Members of great Eſtates will ſtoop at, and moſt of them will do as much for Hopes, as others for Fruition, but if their patience be tired out, they grow at laſt mutinous, and revolt to the Country, till ſome better occaſion offer.

Among theſe are ſome men of the beſt underſtanding, were they of equal integrity, who affect to ingroſs all buſineſs, to be able to quaſh any good motion by Parliamentary Skill, unleſs themſelves be the Authors, and to be the leading men of the Houſe, and for their natural Lives to Continue ſo. But theſe are men that have been once fooled, moſt of them, and diſcovered, and ſlighted at Court, ſo that till ſome turn of State ſhall ſet them in their Adverſaries Place, in the mean time they look Sullen, make big Motions, and contrive ſpecious Bills for the Subject, yet only wait the opportunity to be the Inſtruments of the ſame Counſels, which they oppoſe in others.

There is a Third Part ſtill remaining, but as contrary in themſelves as Light and Darkneſs; Thoſe are either the worſt, or the beſt of Men; The firſt are moſt profligate perſons that have neither Eſtates, Conſciences, nor good Manners, yet are therefore Picked out as the neceſſary men, and whoſe Votes will go furtheſt; The charges of their Elections are defrayed, whatever they amount to, Tables are kept for them at *White Hall*, and through *Weſtminſter*, that they may be ready at hand, within Call of a Queſtion: All of them are received into Penſion, and know their Pay day, which they never fail of; Inſomuch that a great Officer was pleaſed to ſay, *That they came about him like ſo many Jackdaws for Cheeſe, at the end of every Seſſion.* If they be not in Parliament, they muſt be in Priſon, and as they are Protected themſelves by Privilege, ſo they ſell their Protections to others, to the obſtruction ſo many years together of the Law of the Land, and the publick Juſtice; for theſe it is, that the long and frequent Adjournments are calculated; but all, whether the Court, or the Monopolizers of the Country Party, or thoſe that prophane the Title of Old Cavaliers, do equally, though upon differing reaſons, like death apprehend a Diſſolution: But notwithſtanding theſe, there is an handful of *Salt*, a ſparkle of *Soul* that hath hitherto preſerved this groſs Body from Putrefaction, ſome *Gentlemen* that are conſtant, invariable, indeed *Engliſh* men, ſuch as are above *hopes*, or *fears*, or *diſſimulation*, that can neither flatter, nor betray their King, or Country: But being conſcious of their own Loyalty, and Integrity, proceed through good and bad report, to acquit themſelves in their Duty to God, their Prince, and their Nation; although ſo ſmall a ſcantling in number, that men can ſcarce reckon of them more than a *Quorum*; Inſomuch that it is leſs difficult to conceive how Fire was firſt brought to light in the World, than how any good thing could ever be produced out of an Houſe of Commons ſo conſtituted, unleſs as that is imagined to have come from the ruſhing of Trees, or battering of Rocks together, by accident, ſo theſe by their claſhing with one another, have ſtruck out an uſeful effect from ſo unlikely cauſes. But whatſoever caſual good hath been wrought at any time by the aſſimilation of ambitious, factious, and diſappointed Members, to the little, but ſolid, and unbiaſſed Party, the more frequent ill effects, and conſequences of ſo unequal a mixture, ſo long continued, are demonſtrable and apparent. For while ſcarce any man comes thither with reſpect to the publick ſervice, but in deſign to make, and raiſe his fortune, it is not to be expreſſed, the Debauchery and Lewdneſs, which upon occaſion of Election to Parliaments, are now grown habitual thorow the Nation. So that the Vice and Expence are riſen to ſuch a prodigious height, that few ſober men can indure to ſtand to be choſen on ſuch conditions. From whence alſo ariſe Feuds, and perpetual Animoſities over moſt of the Counties, and Corporations, while Gentlemen of Worth, Spirit, and ancient Eſtates and Dependances, ſee themſelves overpowered in their own Neighbourhood by the Drunkenneſs and Bribery of their Competitors. But if nevertheleſs any worthy perſon chance to carry the Election, ſome mercenary or corrupt Sheriff makes a double Return, ſo the Cauſe is handed to the Committee of Elections, who ask no better, but are ready to adopt his Adverſary into the Houſe if he be not Legitimate. And if the Gentleman agrieved ſeek his Remedy againſt the Sheriff in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the proofs be ſo palpable, that the Kings Bench cannot invent how to do him Injuſtice, yet the major part of the twelve Judges ſhall upon better conſideration vacate the Sheriffs Fine, and reverſe the judgment; but thoſe of them that dare diſſent from their Brethren are in danger to be turned off the Bench without any Cauſe aſſigned. While men therefore care not thus, how they get into the Houſe of Commons, neither can it be expected that they ſhould make any conſcience of what they do there, but they are only intent how to reimburſe themſelves (if their Elections were at their own charge) or how to bargain their Votes for a Place, or a Penſion. They liſt themſelves ſtraightways into ſome Court Faction, and it is as well known among them, to what Lord each of them retain, as when formerly they wore Coats and Badges. By this long haunting ſo together they are grown too ſo familiar among themſelves, that all reverence of their own Aſſembly is loſt, that they live together not like Parliament men, but like ſo many Good-Fellows, met together in a Publick Houſe to make merry. And which is yet worſe, by being ſo throughly acquainted, they underſtand their Number and Party, ſo that the uſe of ſo publick a Counſel is fruſtrated, there is no place for deliberation,

deliberation, no perſwading by reaſon, but they can ſee one anothers Votes through both Throats and Crevats before they hear them.

Where the Cards are ſo well known, they are only fit for a Cheat, and no fair Gameſter but would throw them under the Table.

Hereby it is that their Houſe hath loſt all the ancient weight and authority, and being conſcious of their own guilt and weakneſs, dare not adventure, as heretofore, the Impeaching of any man before the Lords, for the moſt hainous Crimes of State, and the moſt Publick Miſdemeanours, upon which confidence it is, that the Conſpirators have ſo long preſumed, and gone unpuniſhed. For although the Conſpirators have ſometimes (that this Houſe might appear ſtill neceſſary to the People, and to make the money more glib) yielded that even their own Names ſhould be toſſed among them, and Grievances be talked of, yet at the ſame time they have been ſo prevalent as to hinder any Effect, and if the Houſe has Emancipated it ſelf beyond Inſtructions, then by Chaſtizing them with *Prorogations*, frighting them with *Diſſolution*, comforting them with long, frequent, and ſeaſonable *Adjournments*, now by ſuſpending, or diminiſhing their Penſions, then again by increaſing them, ſometimes by a ſcorn, and otherwhiles by a favour, there hath a way been found to reduce them again under Diſcipline. All theſe things and more being conſidered, and how doubtful a foot this Long Parliament now ſtood upon by this long *Prorogation*, there could not have been a more Legal, or however no more wiſe and honeſt a thing done, than for both the Lords and Commons to have ſeparated themſelves, or have beſought his Majeſty to that purpoſe, leſt the Conſpirators ſhould any longer ſhelter and carry on their deſign againſt the Government and Religion, under this ſhadow of *Parliamentary Authority*. But it was otherwiſe ordered, of which it is now time to relate the Conſequences.

The four Lords having thus been committed, it cannot properly be ſaid that the Houſe of Peers was thenceforward under the Government of the Lord *Frechwel*, and the Lord *Arundel* of *Trerife*, but thoſe two noble Peers had of neceſſity no ſmall Influence upon the Counſels of that Houſe, (having hoped ere this to have made their way alſo into his Majeſties Privy Council) and all things fell out as they could have wiſhed, if under their own direction. For moſt of them, who had been the moſt active formerly in the Publick Intereſt, ſate mute in the Houſe, whether, as is probable out of reverence to their two Perſons, and confidence in their wiſdom, they left all to their Conduct, and gave them a general Proxy, or whether, as ſome would have it, they were ſullen at the Commitment of the four Lords, and by reaſon of that, or the *Prorogation*, began now to think the Parliament, or their Houſe to be *Non compos*. But now therefore Doctor *Cary*, a Commoner, was brought to the Bar before them, and queſtion'd concerning a written Book which it ſeems he had carried to be Printed, treating of the Illegality of this *Prorogation*, and becauſe he ſatisfied them not in ſome Interrogatories, which no man would in common honour to others, or in ſelf preſervation, as neither was he in Law bound to have anſwered, they therefore *Fined* him a thouſand pounds, under that new notion of Contempt, when no other Crime would do it, and ſentenced him to continue cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower* until payment. Yet the Commons were in ſo admirable good temper (having been conjured by the charming Eloquence of the Lord Chancellor, to avoid all miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes) that there could no Member, or time be found in all the Seſſion, to offer their Houſe his Petition, much leſs would that breach upon the whole Parliament, by impriſoning the Lords, for uſing their Liberty of their Speech, be entertained by them upon motion, for fear of entrenching upon the privilege of the Houſe of Peers, which it had been well for them if they had been as tender of formerly.

One further Inſtance of the Complexion of their Houſe, at that ſeaſon, may be ſufficient. One Maſter *Harrington* had before the Seſſion been committed cloſe Priſoner (for that was now the mode, as though the Earl of *Northampton* would not otherwiſe have kept him cloſe enough) by Order of the King and Council, the Warrant bearing *for ſubornation of Perjury, tending to the Defamation of his Majeſty, and his Government, and for Contemptuouſly Declaring, he would not anſwer his Majeſty any Queſtion, which his Majeſty, or his Privy Council ſhould ask him.* As this Gentleman was hurried along to the *Tower*, he was ſo dexterous as to convey into a Friends Hand paſſing by, a Blank Paper only with his name, that a Petition might be written above it, to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons, without rejecting, for want of his own hand in the Subſcription. His Caſe notwithſtanding the Warrant was thus.

He had met with two *Scotch* Soldiers in Town returned from *Flanders*, who complained that many of their Country men had in *Scotland* been ſeiſed by force, to be carried over into the *French* Service, had been detained in the Publick Priſons till an opportunity to tranſport them: were heaved on board faſt tyed and bound like malefactors, ſome of them ſtruggling and conteſting it, were caſt into the Sea, or maimed, in concluſion an intolerable violence and barbarity uſed to compel them, and this near the preſent Seſſion of Parliament. Hereupon this Gentleman conſidering how oft the Houſe of Commons had addreſſed to his Majeſty, and framed an Act for recalling his Majeſties Subjects out of the *French* Service, as alſo that his Majeſty had iſſued his Proclamation to the ſame purpoſe, thought he might do a good and acceptable thing in giving information of it to the Houſe as time ſerved. But withall,

knowing

knowing how witneſſes might poſſibly be taken off, he, for his own greater ſecurity took them before a Maſter of Chancery, where they confirmed by Oath the ſame things they had told him. But hereupon he was brought before his Majeſty, and the Privy Council, where he declared this matter, but being here asked by the Lord Chancellor ſome inſnaring and improper queſtions, he modeſtly, as thoſe that were by affirmed, deſired to be excuſed from anſwering him further, but after this, anſwered his Majeſty with great humility and reſpect to divers Queſtions. This was the ſubornation of Perjury, and this the Contempt to his Majeſty, for which he was made cloſe Priſoner. Upon his Petition to the Houſe of Commons he was ſent for, and called in, where he is reported to have given a very clear account of the whole matter, and of his behaviour at the Council Board. But of the two *Scotch* Soldiers the one made himſelf perjured without being ſuborned by *Harrington*, denying or miſrepreſenting to the Houſe what he had ſworn formerly. And the other, the honeſter Fellow it ſeems of the two, only was abſented. But however divers honourable Members of that Houſe atteſted voluntarily, that the Soldiers had affirmed the ſame thing to them, and indeed the Truth of that matter is notorious, by ſeveral other Soldiers that ſince came over, and by further account from *Scotland*. Maſter *Harrington* alſo carryed himſelf towards the Houſe with that modeſty, that it ſeemed inſeparable from him: and much more in his Majeſties preſence, ſo that their Houſe was inclined, and ready to have concerned themſelves for his Liberty. But Maſter Secretary *Williamſon* ſtood up, having been a principal Inſtrument in committing him, and becauſe the other crimes rather deſerved Thanks and Commendation, and the Warrant would not Juſtifie it ſelf, he inſiſted upon his ſtrange demeanour toward his Majeſty, deciphered his very looks, how truly it matters not, and but that his Majeſty and the Houſe remained ſtill living Fleſh and Blood, it might have been imagined by his diſcourſe that Maſter *Harrington* had the head of a *Gorgon*. But this Story ſo wrought with, and amazed the Commons, that Mr. *Harrington* found no redreſs, but might thank God that he eſcaped again into cloſe Priſon. It was thought notwithſtanding by moſt men that his looks might have palled any where but with a man of Sir *Joſeph*'s delicacy. For neither indeed had Maſter *Harrington* ever the ſame opportunities that others had of practiſing the *Hocus Pocus* of the Face, of Playing the *French Scaramuccie*, or of living abroad to learn how to make the Plenipotentiary *Grimaſs* for his Majeſty's Service.

And now to proceed, rather according to the coherence of the matters, than to the particular Date of every days action. By this good humour, and the Houſe being ſo free of the Liberty of their Fellow Commoners, it might be gueſſed that they would not be leſs liberal of their mony this Seſſion.

The Bill therefore for 600000 *l.* Tax for eighteen months towards the building and furniſhing of Ships eaſily paſſed without once dreaming any more of appropriating the Cuſtoms.

For the Nation being generally poſſeſſed by the Members with the defects of the Navy, and not conſidering at all from what neglect it proceeded, the Houſe of Commons were very willing, and glad to take this occaſion, of confirming the Authority of their Sitting, and to pay double the ſum that in the former Seſſions they had thought neceſſary towards the Fleet; hereby to hedge in, and purchaſe their own continuance. And for the ſame purpoſe they ingroſſed the Act with ſo numerous a liſt of Commiſſioners, that it ſeemed rather a Regiſter or Muſter-Roll of the Nation, and that they raiſed the whole Kingdom to raiſe the mony. For who could doubt that they were ſtill a lawful Parliament, when they ſaw ſo many Gentlemens names (though by the Clerks hand only) ſubſcribed to an Act of their making? Only Mr. *Seymour*, the Speaker, would have diminiſhed the number in his own Country. For he had entred into a Combination, that none ſhould ſerve the King or their Country thorow *Devonſhire*, in any capacity but under his approbation, and therefore he highly inveighed againſt many Gentlemen of the beſt Rank there, that ought him no homage, as perſons diſaffected, oppoſing their names at a Committee of the whole Houſe, before he heard them. But being checked in his carier, he let fall the conteſt, with as much judgment and modeſty as he had begun it with boldneſs and indiſcretion.

This Bill was not enough, but though the Nation had hoped to be relieved from the Additional Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, which the Tripple League had fooled them into, but was now of courſe to expire the 24*th* of *June*, 1677. Yet a Bill for continuing it for three years more paſſed, them likewiſe with little Difficulty. For the late fear of Diſſolution was ſtill ſo freſh upon them, that they would continue any thing to buy their own Continuance; and this Bill might, conſidering their preſent want of Legality, have been properly intituled, *An Act for the Extraordinary Occaſion of the Houſe of Commons*. But that they might ſeem within this tenderneſs to themſelves not to have caſt off all toward the People, they ſunk all former Grievances into a Bill of Chancery, knowing well that a ſuite in that Court would be ſooner ended, than a Reformation of it be effected; and that thereby they might gain work enough to direct the whole Seſſion. And of their uſual Bills for the liberty of the Subjects, they ſent up only that of *Habeas Corpus*; pretending, and perhaps truly, that they durſt not adventure them either in their own or the Lords Houſe as they were now governed, leſt they ſhould be further enſnared by ſtruggling for freedom. But leſt they ſhould trouble themſelves

themſelves too much with Religion, the Lords preſented them with two Bills of a very good name, but of a ſtrange and unheard of nature. The one intitled, *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion by educating the Children of the Royal Family, and providing for the continuance of a Proteſtant Clergy.* The other, *An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants.* And with theſe they ſent down another for the further regulation of the Preſſes, and ſuppreſſing all unlicenſed Books, with clauſes moſt ſevere and general upon the Subject, whereof one for breaking all Houſes whatſoever on ſuſpicion of any ſuch Pamphlet, whereby Maſter *L' Eſtranges* Authority was much amplified to ſearch any other Houſe with the ſame liberty as he had Sir *Thomas Dolemans*.

But as to thoſe two Bills of Religion, although they were of the higheſt conſequence that ever were offered in Parliament ſince *Proteſtancy* came in (and went out of faſhion) yet it is to be imagined, how indiſputable and eaſie a paſſage they found thorow the Houſe of Peers, to the Houſe of Commons; which muſt be aſcribed to the great unanimity among them, after the committing of the four Lords, and to the power of thoſe two noble Peers, their Adverſaries, which was now ſo eſtabliſhed, that their ſenſe being once declared, the reſt ſeemed to yield them an Implicite Faith and Obedience; and they were now in ſuch Vogue, that whatſoever was ſpoken or done any where abroad in perfection, with great weight and judgment, men ſaid it was *A la Fraicheville*. But if gently and acutely, *A la Treriſe*.

That Intituled, *An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants*, is too long to be here inſerted, and the Fate it met with, makes it unneceſſary, for as ſoon as it was firſt read, a Gentleman of great worth and apprehenſion ſpake ſhort, but roundly, and thorow againſt it.

A ſecond immediately moved that it might not only be thrown out, but with a particular mark of infamy. And it being without any more ado ready to be put to the Queſtion, a third demanded that they ſhould ſtay a while to ſee whether there were any one ſo hardy as to ſpeak a word for it. Which no man offering at, it was forthwith rejected with this cenſure added to the Journal.

And becauſe the Body of the Bill was contrary to the Title, this unuſual ſentence of the Houſe of Commons, though excuſable by the Crimes of the Bill, yet was not to be juſtified by the Rules of Entercourſe between the two Houſes. But becauſe all men have hence taken occaſion to accuſe the Lords Spiritual, as the Authors both of this Bill and the other, it is neceſſary to inſert here the true Fact in their juſt vindication. It was above two years ago that a ſelect Cabal of great Miniſters had been conſulting about Church matters, though it ſeldom happens (nor did it in this inſtance) that the Stateſmen are more fortunate in meddling with Religion, than the Churchmen with Government, but each marrs them with tampering out of their Provinces. This only difference, that what Eccleſiaſtical perſons may do by chance or conſequence, that harm the others commit on ſet purpoſe. For it was by theſe Politicians, that theſe two *Cockatrice Eggs* were layd, and by their aſſiduous incubation hatched. It is true indeed afterwards they took ſome few of the Biſhops into Communication, and as it were for advice, upon what was before reſolved. And to make this Bill go the better down, they flattered them with the other, as wholly calculated forſooth to the Churches Intereſt. And by this means poſſibly they prevailed ſo far, that the Biſhops both there and in the Houſe leſs vigorouſly oppoſed. But that the Biſhops were either the Contrivers or Promoters of the Bill, is a ſcandalous falſhood, and deviſed by the Authors to throw the *Odium* off from themſelves upon the Clergy, and (the Bills that aimed at the ruine of the Church of *England* having miſcarried) to compaſs the ſame end by this defamation. A ſufficient warning to the Clergy, how to be intrigued with the Stateſmen for the future.

The ſecond Bill follows:

An Act for further ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by Educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; and for the providing for the continuance of a Proteſtant Clergy.

TO the Intent that the Proteſtant Religion, which through the bleſſing of God hath been happily Eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and is at preſent ſufficiently ſecured by his Majeſties known Piety and Zeal for the preſervation thereof, may remain ſecure in all future times.

Be it Enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Parliament Aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That upon the demiſe of his Majeſty that now is, to whom God grant a long and proſperous Reign, and upon the demiſe of any other King or Queen Regnant, that ſhall hereafter bear the Imperial Crown of this Realm, the Archbiſhops, and all and every the Biſhops of *England* and *Wales*, for the time being, as ſhall not be diſabled by Sickneſs or other Infirmity, ſhall within forty days next after ſuch Demiſe, repair to *Lambeth* Houſe, and being there aſſembled, to the number of nine at leaſt, ſhall cauſe to be there ingroſſed in Parchment the Oath and Declaration following:

I *King* or *Queen of* England, *do Declare and Swear, that I do believe that there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Conſecration thereof by any perſon whatſoever. So help me God.*

Which Blank ſhall be filled up with the Chriſtian Name of ſuch King or Queen: And

thereupon the Prelates ſo Aſſembled, ſhall without delay repair to the perſons of ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, and in humble manner tender the ſaid Oath or Declaration, to be taken by ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, which they are hereby authoriſed to Adminiſter, and ſhall abide in or near the Court by the ſpace of fourteen days, and at convenient time, as often as conveniently they may, they ſhall appear in the preſence of ſuch King and Queen ready to receive Commands for Adminiſtring the ſaid Oath and Declaration, which if ſuch ſucceeding King and Queen ſhall make and ſubſcribe in the preſence of them, or any nine or more of them, they ſhall atteſt the doing thereof, by ſubſcribing their Names to a Certificate, Indorſed upon the ſaid Indorſment, and carry the ſame into the high Court of Chancery there to be ſafely depoſited amongſt the Records of the ſaid Court. And if ſuch King or Queen Regnant ſhall refuſe, or omit to make and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath and Declaration for the ſpace of fourteen days after ſuch humble tender made in manner aforeſaid, the ſaid Prelates may depart from the Court without any further attendance on this occaſion. But if at any time afterward ſuch King or Queen ſhall be pleaſed to take and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath and Declaration, and ſhall ſignifie ſuch pleaſure to the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, or any nine or more of them, the ſaid Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, or ſuch nine, or more of them are hereby Authoriſed and required forthwith to Adminiſter the ſame, and to atteſt and certifie the ſame in manner aforeſaid.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant ſhall refuſe, or omit to make ſuch Oath and Declaration, within the time therefore limited, the ſame having been tendered in manner aforeſaid, or there ſhall be any Let, Obſtruction, or Hindrance whatſoever, to their making the ſaid tender in manner aforeſaid, they are hereby enjoyned and required to indorſe upon the ſaid Indorſement ſuch refuſal or omiſſion, or any obſtruction, let or hindrance that ſhall happen to them, whereby they are not able to make the ſaid tender according to the Act, and atteſt the ſame by ſubſcribing their names thereunto, and carry the ſame into the high Court of Chancery, there to be ſafely depoſited in manner aforeſaid, and if any the ſaid perſons hereby appointed to make the ſaid tender, ſhall neglect or refuſe to do the ſame, or in caſe of any refuſal, or omiſſion of making the ſaid Oath and Declaration, or in caſe of any obſtruction or hindrance to the making of the ſaid tender, ſhall refuſe or neglect to make certificate thereof in manner aforeſaid, that the Arch-Biſhoprick or Biſhoprick of the perſon or perſons ſo refuſing, ſhall be *Ipſo Facto*, void, as if he or they were naturally Dead, and the ſaid Perſon or Perſons ſhall be incapable, during his or their Life or Lifes, of that, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Preferment.

And be it further Enacted, That if any King or Queen Regnant, at the time when the Imperial Crown of this Realm ſhall devolve, ſhall be under the age of fourteen years, and that upon his or her attaining the ſaid age of fourteen years, the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops ſhall, and are upon the like penalties hereby enjoyned, within fourteen days next after ſuch attaining to the ſaid Age, to aſſemble at the ſaid place, and thereupon to do and perform all things in preparing and tendring the ſaid Oath and Declaration, and making certificate of the taking or omiſſion thereof, that are required by this Act to be done upon the demiſe of any King or Queen Regnant.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That until any ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant ſhall make the ſaid Oath and Declaration, in manner aforeſaid, ſuch reſpective King or Queen ſhall not grant, confer, or diſpoſe of any Arch-Biſhoprick or any Biſhoprick in *England* or *Wales*, otherwiſe than in manner following, that is to ſay, within ſeven days after the Vacancy of any Biſhoprick or See, ſhall be known to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for the time being, he ſhall and is hereby required to ſend forth a Summons in Writing to all the Prelates in *England* and *Wales*, requiring them to meet at a certain convenient time and place, to be appointed by the Summons, to conſult concerning the nomination of fit perſons for the ſupply of that Vacancy. And in caſe of Vacancy of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, for the time being. And if that See ſhall be alſo vacant, ſuch Prelate of the Realm, as by the *Statute* of 31. *H.* 8. ought to have place before the reſt in *Parliament*; ſhall and are hereby required to iſſue forth the ſaid Summons, and at the ſaid time and place, ſo appointed, in manner aforeſaid, the Prelates then aſſembled, being ſeven at the leaſt, or the major part of them, ſhall by writing under their Hands and Seals, nominate three perſons, natural born Subjects of the King, and in holy Orders, for the ſupplying of the ſaid Vacancy, and to be placed in ſuch Order as the ſaid Prelates ſo aſſembled, or the major part of them ſhall think fit, without regard to dignity, antiquity, or any other form, which Writing ſhall be preſented to the King, who may thereupon appoint one of the three perſons ſo to be named, to ſucceed in the ſaid Vacancy. And the perſon ſo appointed or choſen, ſhall by due form of Law, according to the courſe now uſed, be made Biſhop of that See. But if in 30 days after ſuch preſentment of ſuch Names, the King or Queen Regnant ſhall not Elect or appoint which of the ſaid three perſons ſhall ſucceed in the ſaid vacant See; or if after ſuch Election or appointment there ſhall be any obſtruction in preſſing of the uſual Inſtruments and formalities of Law, in order to his Conſecration, then ſuch perſon, whoſe Name ſhall be firſt written in the ſaid Inſtrument of nomination,

nation, if there be no Election or appointment made by the King within the time aforeſaid, ſhall be the Biſhop of the vacant See. And if there be an Election or appointment made, then the perſon ſo appointed ſhall be the Biſhop of the vacant See. And the Arch-biſhop of the Province wherein the ſaid vacancy ſhall be, or ſuch other perſon or perſons, who ought by his Majeſties Eccleſiaſtical Laws to Conſecrate the ſaid Biſhop, ſhall upon reaſonable demand, and are hereby required to make Conſecration accordingly upon pain of forfeiting trible damages and coſts to the party grieved, to be recovered in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*. And immediately after ſuch Conſecration, the perſon ſo conſecrated, ſhall be, and is hereby Enacted to be complete Biſhop of the ſaid vacant See, and is hereby veſted in the Temporalities of the ſaid Biſhoprick, and in actual poſſeſſion thereof, to all intents and purpoſes, and ſhall have a Seat and Place in Parliament, as if he had by due forms of Law been made Biſhop, and had the Temporalities reſtored unto him; and in caſe the perſon ſo firſt named in the ſaid Inſtrument of Nomination, or the perſon ſo Elected by the King or Queen Regnant, ſhall then be a Biſhop, ſo that no Conſecration be requiſite, then immediately after default of Election or appointment by the King, or immediately after ſuch Election or appointment, if any ſhall be made within the ſaid time, and any Obſtructions in preſſing the Inſtruments and Formalities in Law, in ſuch caſes uſed, the Biſhop ſo firſt Named or Elected and appointed, ſhall thereupon, *ipſo facto*, be tranſlated, and become Biſhop of that See, to which he was ſo nominated and appointed, and ſhall be, and is hereby veſted in the Temporalities and actual poſſeſſion thereof to all intents and purpoſes, and ſhall have his Seat and Place in Parliament accordingly, and his former See ſhall become vacant, as if he had been by due Forms of Law choſen & confirmed into the ſame & had the Temporalities reſtored unto him.

And be it further Enacted, That until the making the ſaid Oath and Declaration in manner aforeſaid, the reſpective ſucceeding Kings and Queens that ſhall not have made and ſubſcribed the ſame, ſhall not grant or diſpoſe of any Deanry, or Arch-Deaconry, Prebendary, Maſterſhip of any College, Parſonage, Vicaridge, or any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion whatſoever, to any other perſon, but ſuch perſon as ſhall be nominated for the ſame, unto the ſaid King or Queen Regnant, by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Guardians of the Spiritualties of the ſaid Arch-biſhoprick, for the time being, if the ſame be within the Province of *Canterbury*, and by the Arch-biſhoprick of *York*, or Guardians of the Spiritualities of the ſaid Arch-biſhoprick for the time being, if the ſame be within the Province of *York*, by writing under their reſpective Hands and Seals, and in caſe any ſuch as ſhall be accordingly nominated, ſhall not be able to obtain Preſentation or grant thereof within 30 days, next after ſuch nomination, then the ſaid perſon ſhall and may, and is hereby enabled, by force of the ſaid nomination, to require Inſtitution and Induction from ſuch perſon and perſons unto whom it ſhall belong to grant the ſame, who ſhall accordingly make Inſtitution and Induction, as if the ſaid perſon were lawfully preſented by the ſaid *King* or *Queen Regnant*, upon pain to forfeit to the party grieved, trible damages and coſts, to be recovered in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*; and in caſes where no Inſtitution or Induction is requiſite the ſaid perſon ſo nominated, from and after the end of the ſaid 30 days, ſhall be, and is hereby actually veſted in the poſſeſſion of ſuch Deanry, Arch-Deaconry, Prebendary, Maſterſhip, Rectory, Parſonage, or Vicarage, Donative, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion, and ſhall be full and abſolute Proprietor and Incumbent thereof, to all Intents and Purpoſes as if he had obtained poſſeſſion thereof upon a legal grant by the ſaid King or Queen Regnant, and proceeding thereupon in due form of Law.

Provided always and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, or the Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, for the time being, to paſs preſentations or granrs, to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, under value in the King's Gift, in ſuch manner as hath been accuſtomed, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And be it further Enacted, That during ſuch time as any King or Queen Regnant, ſhall be under the ſaid fourteen years, no perſon that ſhall be Lord Protector, or Regent of this Realm, during ſuch minority, ſhall in any wiſe, either in the name of the King or Queen Regnant, or in his own name grant, confer, or diſpoſe of any Arch-biſboprick, Biſhoprick, Deanary, Prebendary, Maſterſhip of any College, Parſonage, Vicarage, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion whatſoever, but the ſame ſhall be diſpoſed of in manner abovementioned, during ſuch minority, until ſuch Lord Protector or Regent ſhall make and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath and Declaration, (*mutatis mutandis*) before ſuch nine or more of the ſaid Prelates, as he ſhall call to Adminiſter the ſame unto him, which Oath and Declaration they are hereby authoriſed and required to adminiſter, under the penalties aforeſaid, when they ſhall be called thereunto by ſuch Lord Protector or Regent, for the time being.

And be it further Enacted, That the Children of ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, that ſhall not have made and ſubſcribed the Oath and Declaration in manner aforeſaid, ſhall from their reſpective Ages of ſeven years, until the reſpective Ages of fourteen years, to be under the care and government of the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and Biſhop of *London*, *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, for the time being, who are hereby enjoyned and required to

take

take care, that they be well Inſtructed and Educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, as it is Eſtabliſhed by Law, and to the Intent that the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, for the time being, may effectually have the Care and Government of ſuch Children, according to the true intent of this Law; Be it Enacted, That after any ſuch Children ſhall have attained their reſpective Ages of fourteen years, no perſon ſhall have, enjoy, bear and execute any Office, Service, Imployment, or place of Attendment relating to their perſons, but ſuch as ſhall be approved of in writing under the Hands and Seals of the ſaid Arch-biſhops and Biſhops in being, or the major part of ſuch of them as are there in being. And if any perſon ſhall take upon him to Execute any ſuch Office, Service, Imployment or Place of Attendance, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Act, he ſhall forfeit the ſum of 100*l.* for every month he ſhall ſo Execute the ſame, to be recovered by any perſon that will ſue for the ſame in any Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*; ſhall alſo ſuffer Impriſonment for the ſpace of ſix months, without Bayl or Mainprize.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That no perſon born within this Realm, or any other of his Majeſties Dominions, being a Popiſh Prieſt, Deacon or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, made, or deemed, or profeſſed by any Authority or Juriſdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the See of *Rome*, or any Jeſuit whatſoever ſhall be allowed to attend the perſon of the Queens Majeſty that now is, or any Queen Conſort, or Queen Dowager, that ſhall be hereafter, whilſt they are within his Realm, or by pretence of ſuch ſervice, or any other matter, ſhall be Exempted from the penal Laws already made againſt ſuch perſons coming into being or remaining in this Kingdom, but ſhall be, and are hereby lyable to the utmoſt ſeverity thereof.

Provided always, That it ſhall and may be lawful for Maſter *John Huddleſton*, being one of the Queens Majeſties Domeſtick Servants, to attend her ſaid Majeſties Service, any thing in this Act or any other Law to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And be it further Enacted, That after the Death of the Queens Majeſty, to whom God grant a long and happy life, all Lay-perſons whatſoever, born within this Realm, or any other of his Majeſties Dominions, that ſhall be of the Houſhold, or in the Service or Employment of any ſucceeding Queen Conſort, or Queen Dowager, ſhall do and perform all things in a late Act of this Parliament, Entituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants:* required to be done and performed by any perſon that ſhall be admitted into the Service or Employment of his Majeſty, or his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, which if they ſhall neglect or refuſe to do and perform, and nevertheleſs, after ſuch Refuſal ſhall execute any Office, Service or Employment under any ſucceeding Queen Conſort, or Queen Dowager, every perſon ſo offending, ſhall be liable to the ſame penalties and diſabilities, as by the ſaid Act are or may be inflicted upon the breakers of that Law, provided always, That all and every perſon or perſons, that ſhall by vertue of this Act, have or claim any Arch-biſhoprick, Biſhoprick, Deanry, Prebendary, Parſonage, Vicarage, or Eccleſiaſtical Benefits, with Cure or without Cure, ſhall be, and is hereby enjoyned, under the like penalties and diſabilities, to do and perform all things whatſoever, which by Law they ought to have done, if they had obtained the ſame, and by the uſual courſe and form of Law, without the help and benefit of this Act.

And be it further Enacted, That all and every Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, appointed by this Act to aſſemble upon the Demiſe of his Majeſty, or any other King or Queen Regnant, in order to repair and make humble tender of the Oath and Declaration aforementioned, to any ſucceeding King or Queen, be bound by this Act to adminiſter the ſame, ſhall before ſuch Tender and Adminiſtration thereof, and are hereby required to adminiſter the ſame Oath and Declaration, to one another, which ſuch of the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, at any time aſſembled as by the Statute 31. *H.* 8. ought to have precedence of all the reſt of them that ſhall be ſo aſſembled, is hereby authoriſed and required to adminiſter to the reſt of them, and the next in order to ſuch Prelates, is hereby authoriſed and required to adminiſter the ſame to him, and the ſame Oath and Declaration being Engroſſed in another piece of Parchment, they and every of them are hereby enjoyned to ſubſcribe their names to the ſame, and to return the ſame into the High Court of Chancery, hereafter with their Certificate, which they are before by this Act appointed to make. And if any of the ſaid Arch-biſhops or Biſhops, ſhall be under the ſame penalties, forfeitures and diſabilities, as are hereby appointed for ſuch Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, as neglect or refuſe to make any tender of the ſaid Oath and Declaration, to any ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant.

And be it further Enacted, That the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Arch-biſhop of *York*, or ſuch other Biſhop to whom it ſhall belong to iſſue forth Summons to all the Biſhops of *England* and *Wales*, requiring to meet and conſult concerning the Nomination of fit perſons, for the ſupply of any Arch-biſhoprick or Biſhoprick, according to this Act, ſhall make the ſaid Summons in ſuch manner that the time therein mentioned for the meeting the ſaid Arch biſhops and Biſhops ſhall not be more than forty days diſtinct from the time of the Debate, and Iſſueing out of the ſaid Summons.

And

And be it further Enacted, That in caſe any perſon intitled by this Act, doth demand Conſecration, in order to make him Biſhop of any vacant See in manner aforeſaid, ſhall demand the ſame of the Arch-biſhop of the Province, and ſuch Arch-biſhop that ſhall neglect, or refuſe to do the ſame, either by himſelf or by others Commiſſioned by him, by the ſpace of thirty days, that then ſuch Arch-biſhop ſhall over and beſides the trible Damages, to the party before appointed, forfeit the ſum of 1000 *l.* to any perſon that will ſue for the ſame, in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter* by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information, wherein no Eſſoyn, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed. And being thereof lawfully convicted, his Arch-biſhoprick ſhall thereby become, *ipſo facto*, void as if he were naturally dead, and he ſhall be, and is hereby made uncapable and diſabled to hold, have, receive the ſame, or any other Biſhoprick, or Eccleſiaſtical Benefice whatſoever.

And be it further Enacted, That after ſuch neglect or refuſal by the ſpace of thirty days after demand, to make ſuch Conſecration, or in caſe of the vacancy of the Arch-biſhoprick, ſuch Biſhop of the ſaid Province, for time being, who by the Statute of 31. *H.* 8. ought to have Preſidents of all the reſt, calling to his aſſiſtance a ſufficient number of Biſhops, who are likewiſe required to aſſiſt at ſuch time and place as he ſhall thereunto appoint, ſhall, and is hereby required, upon reaſonable demands, to make ſuch Conſecration which ſhall be good and effectual in Law, as if the ſaid Biſhops were thereunto authorized, and empowered by Commiſſion from ſuch Arch-biſhop, or any other perſon, or perſons, having authority to grant Commiſſion for the doing the ſame.

And be it further Enacted, That the ſaid Biſhops and every of them are hereby enjoyned and required to perform the ſame, upon pain of forfeiting, upon any neglect or refuſal, trible damages to the party grieved, to be recovered with Coſts, in any of his Majeſties Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, as alſo the ſum of 1000 *l.* to any perſon that will ſue for the ſame, in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, by any action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information, wherein no Eſſoyn, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed; and being lawfully convicted of any ſuch neglect or refuſal, his or their Biſhoprick that ſhall be ſo convicted, ſhall become, *ipſo facto*, void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and he or they are hereby made incapable, and diſabled to have, hold, or receive the ſame, or any other Biſhoprick, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice whatſoever.

Yet this Notorious Bill had not the ſame accident with the firſt, but was read a ſecond time, and committed; wherein their Houſes curioſity ſeems to have led them, rather than any ſatisfaction they had in the matter, or hope of amending it, for it died away, the Committee diſdaining, or not daring publickly to enter upon it, ſome indeed having, as is ſaid, once attempted it in private, and provided *R.S.* a fit Lawyer for the Chairman, but were diſcovered. And thus let theſe two Bills periſh like unſeaſonable and monſtruous Births, but the Legitimate Iſſue of the Conſpirators, and upon the hopes of whoſe growth they had built the ſucceſſion of their Projects.

Henceforward another Scene opens: The Houſe of Commons thorow the whole remainder of this Seſſion, falling in with ſome unanimity and great vigour againſt the *French* Counſels. Of which their Proceedings it were eaſie to aſſign the more intimate Cauſes; but they having therein alſo acted according to the Publick Intereſt, we will be glad to ſuppoſe it to have been their only Motive. That buſineſs having occaſioned many weighty Debates in their Houſe, and frequent Addreſſes to his Majeſty, deſerves a more particular account. Nor hath it been difficult to recover it, moſt of them being unwilling to forget any thing they have ſaid to the purpoſe, but rather ſeeking to divulge what they think was bravely ſpoken; and that they may be thought Some-body, often arrogating where they cannot be diſproved, other mans Conception to their own Honour.

March the *6th*, 1676, the Houſe being reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of Grievances, Reſolved,

That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Addreſs, to repreſent unto his Majeſty the danger of the Power of France, *and to deſire that his Majeſty by ſuch Alliances as he ſhall think fit, do ſecure his Kingdoms, and quiet the fears of his People, and for preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE your Majeſties moſt Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, find our ſelves Obliged in duty and faithfulneſs to your Majeſty, and in diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, by thoſe whom we repreſent, Moſt humbly to Offer to your Majeſties conſideration, that the minds of your People are much diſquieted, with the Manifeſt dangers ariſing to your Majeſty, by the Growth and Power of the French *King*; *Eſpecially by the acquiſition already made, and the further progreſs like to be made by him, in the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *in the preſervation and ſecurity whereof, we humbly Conceive the Intereſt of your Majeſty, and the ſafety of your People are highly concerned*; *and therefore we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take the ſame into your Royal Care, and to ſtrengthen your ſelf with ſuch ſtricter Alliances, as may ſecure your Majeſties Kingdoms, and ſecure and preſerve the ſaid* Spaniſh Netherlands, *and thereby quiet the Minds of your Majeſties People.*

This Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty the 16 of *March*, and his Majeſties Anſwer was Reported to the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Speaker, the 17 of *March*: which was thus,

That his Majeſty was of the Opinion of his two Houſes of Parliament; That the Preſervation of *Flanders* was of great conſequence; and that he would uſe all means in his power for the ſafety of his Kingdoms.

A motion was therefore made for a ſecond Addreſs upon the ſame ſubject, on *Munday*, *March* 26; which here followeth.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE *your Majeſties moſt loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, do with unſpeakable Joy and Comfort, preſent our humble thanks to your Majeſty, for your Majeſties gracious acceptance of our late Addreſs, and that your Majeſty was pleaſed in your Princely Wiſdom to expreſs your Concurrance and Opinion with your two Houſes in reference to the Preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands.

And we do with moſt earneſt and repeated deſires implore your Majeſty, That you would be pleaſed to take timely care to prevent thoſe dangers that may ariſe to theſe Kingdoms by the great prwer of the French *King, and the Progreſs he dayly makes in thoſe* Netherlands *and other places.*

And therefore that your Majeſty would not defer the entring into ſuch Alliances. as may obtain thoſe ends, and in caſe it ſhall happen, that in purſuance of ſuch Alliances, your Majeſty ſhould be engaged in a War with the French *King, we do hold our ſelves obliged, and do with all humility and chearfulneſs aſſure your Majeſty, That we your moſt loyal Subjects ſhall always be ready upon your ſignification thereof in Parliament, fully, and from time to time, to aſſiſt your Majeſty with ſuch Aids and Supplies as, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, may enable your Majeſty to proſecute the ſame with ſucceſs.*

All which we do moſt humbly offer to your Majeſty as the unanimous ſenſe and deſire of the whole Kingdom.

March 30, 1677.

IT was alledged againſt this Addreſs, that to preſs the King to make further Alliances with the Confederates againſt the *French* King, was in effect to preſs him to a War, that being the direct and unavoidable Conſequence thereof.

That the Conſideration of War was moſt proper for the King, who had the Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, and knew the *Arcana Imperii*.

That it was a dangerous thing haſtily to incite the King to a War.

That our Merchant-Ships and Effects would be preſently ſeiſed by the *French* King within his Dominions, and thereby he would acquire the value of, it may be, near a million to enable him to maintain the War againſt us.

That he would fall upon our Plantations, and take, plunder and annoy them.

That he would ſend out abundance of Capers, and take and diſturb all our Trading Ships in theſe Seas, and the *Mediterranean*.

That we had not ſo many Ships of War as he, and thoſe thirty which were to be built with the 600000 *l.* now given, could not be finiſhed in two years.

That we had not Naval Stores and Ammunition, *&c.* ſufficient for ſuch a Purpoſe, and if we had, yet the Seaſon of the Year was too far advanced to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet: and we could not now lay in Beef, Pork, *&c.*

That when we were engaged in a War, the *Dutch* would likely ſlip Collar, leave us in the War, and ſo gain to themſelves the ſingular advantage of ſole trading in Peace, which is the Privilege we now enjoy, and ſhould not be weary of.

That it was next to Impoſſible, to make Alliances with the ſeveral parties as might be expected, ſuch and ſo various were the ſeveral Intereſts and Croſs-biaſſes, of and amongſt the *Emperor*, the *Spaniard*, the *Dane*, the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburgh*, and the ſeveral leſſer Princes of *Germany*, *and others*.

That we might eaſily enter into a War, but it would be hard to find the way out of it, and a long War would be deſtructive to us; for though the *Emperor*, *French*, *Spaniard*, &c. uſe to maintain War for many years, yet a Trading Nation as *England* is, could not endure a long-winded War.

On the other ſide, it was ſaid;

That they did not Addreſs for making War but making Leagues, which might be a means to prevent War.

That the beſt way to preſerve Peace, was to be in a preparation for War.

That admitting a War ſhould enſue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet that would tend to our peace and ſafety in concluſion; for it muſt be agreed, that if the power of *France* were not reduced, and brought to a more equal Ballance with its Neighbours, we muſt fight or ſubmit firſt or laſt.

That it was commonly the Fate of thoſe that kept themſelves Neutral, when their Neighbours were at War, to become a prey to the Conqueror.

That now or never was the Critical Seaſon to make War upon the *French*, whilſt we may have ſo great auxiliary conjunction; and if it were a dangerous and formidable thing to Encounter

counter him now, how much more would it be ſo when this Opportunity was loſt, the Confederacy diſbanded, a Peace made on the other ſide of the water, and we left alone to withſtand him ſingle.

That as to his ſeiſing our Merchants Effects, the Caſe was (the ſame and) no other now than it would be three years hence, or at any time whenſoever the War ſhall commence.

That as to our Plantations and our Traders, we muſt conſider, though the *French* was Powerful, he was not Omnipotent, and we might as well defend them as the *Dutch* do theirs by Guards, Convoys, &c. and chiefly when the *French* have ſo many Enemies, and we ſhall have ſo many Friends, as no other times is like to afford.

That they were ſorry to hear we had not Ships, Stores, &c. equal to the *French*, and to our Occaſions, and hoped it would appear to be otherwiſe.

That the Seaſon was not ſo far ſpent, but that a Competent Fleet might be ſet out this Summer, and that however Deficient we might be in this kind, the *Dutch* were forward and ready to make an effectual Supplement in that behalf.

That howſoever ill and falſe ſome men might eſteem the *Dutch*, yet *Intereſt will not lie*, and it is ſo much their Intereſt to confine and bring down the *French*, that it is not to be apprehended, but they will ſteadily adhere to every Friend, and every Alliance they ſhall joyn with for that purpoſe.

That however croſs and diverſe the ſeveral Confederates and their Intereſts were, yet a common Alliance may be made with them againſt the *French*, and as well as they have allyed themſelves together, as well may the Alliance be extended to another, to be added to them, *viz.* the King of *England*.

That a Numerous and Vigorous Conjunction againſt him is the way to ſhorten the work, whereas if he ſhould hereafter attack us ſingly, he would continue the War on us as long as he pleaſed, till he pleaſed to make an end of it and us together, by our final deſtruction.

That if now we ſhould neglect to make Alliances, we had no cauſe to expect to have one Friend, when the *French* ſhould make Peace beyond Sea, and ſingle us out for Conqueſt; for all that are conjoyned againſt the *French* are provoked and diſobliged by reaſon of the great number of *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* which have ſerved, and do ſtill ſerve the *French*, and it was proved at the Bar of this Houſe within this fortnight, That 1000 men were levyed in *Scotland*, and ſent to the *French* Service in *January* laſt, and ſome of them by force and preſſing.

Alſo that it was underſtood and reſented, that we had mainly contributed to this overgrown Greatneſs of the *French*, by ſelling *Dunkirk*, that ſpecial Key and Inlet of *Flanders*, by making War on the *Dutch*, in 1665. Whereupon the *French* Joyned with the *Dutch*, under which ſhelter and opportunity the *French* King laid the Foundation of this Great Fleet he now hath, buying then many Great Ships of the *Dutch*, and building many others: as to which, but for that occaſion, the *Dutch* would have denyed and hindred him, by not obſerving the Tripple League, and by our making a Joynt War with the *French* againſt the *Dutch*, in which the *French* yet proceeds and triumph. So that in this reſpect we have much to redeem and retrieve.

That enmity againſt the *French* was the thing wherein this divided Nation did unite, and this occaſion was to be laid hold on, as an opportunity of moment amongſt our ſelves.

That the bent and weight of the Nation did lean this way, and that was a ſtrong Inducement and argument to incline their Repreſentatives.

That it had been made appear, and that in *Parliament*, that upon the Ballance of the *French* Trade, this Nation was detrimented yearly 900000 *l.* or a Million, the value of the Goods Imported from *France*, annually ſo much exceeding that of the Goods Exported hence thither, whereby it is evident, that ſuch a ſum of the Treaſure and Mony of the Nation was yearly exhauſted and carryed into *France*, and all this by unneceſſary Wines, Silks, Ribbons, Feathers, &c. The ſaving and retrenching of which Expence and Exhauſtion, will in a great degree ſerve to maintain the Charge of a War.

That the preſent was the beſt time for the purpoſe, and that this would give Reputation to the Confederates, and Comfort and Courage to our beſt Friends immediately, and ſafety to our ſelves in futurity, againſt the *Old perpetual Enemy of* England.

The ſecond Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty, *March* 30; and till *April* 11, they received no Anſwer. Inſomuch that it became doubtful, whether the Mony Bill would be accepted or no, and if the Commons made any difficulty in paſſing them, unleſs they were firſt ſecured againſt the *French* Intereſt, it ſeemed that the ſupply would be rejected by the Conſpirators good will; and that even the building of Ships, how neceſſary ſoever, might rather have been reſpited again, as it had in former Seſſions, and for the whole long *Prorogation*. But their Houſe was far from ſuch Obſtinacy. And the news being come of the taking both of *Valenciennes* and *St. Omers*, with the defeat of the Prince of *Orange* at *Mont-Caſſel*, ſo that now there was no further danger of preventing or interrupting the Succeſſes of the *French* King this Campagne, at laſt therefore upon *April* 11, this following anſwer was offered to their Houſe, from his Majeſty by Maſter Secretary *Coventry*.

C. R.

C. R.

His Majeſty having conſidered your laſt Addreſs, and finding ſome late Alteration in Affairs abroad, thinks it neceſſary to put you in mind, That the only way to prevent the dangers which may ariſe to theſe Kingdoms, muſt be by putting his Majeſty timely in a condition to make ſuch fitting preparation as may enable him to do what may be moſt for the ſecurity of them. And if for this reaſon you ſhall deſire to ſit any longer time, his Majeſty is content you may Adjourn now before Eaſter, *and meet again ſuddenly after, to ripen this matter, and to perfect ſome of the moſt neceſſary Bills now depending.*

Given at our Court at *White-Hall*, the 11*th* of *April*, 1677.

Somewhat was ſaid on both theſe matters, but the Greater debate of them, was Adjourned till next day, and then reaſſumed.

Then it was moved that the Houſe ſhould Adjourn till after *Eaſter*, and then meet again, with a reſolution to enable the King to make ſuch preparations as ſhould be thought neceſſary, and alſo paſs ſome neceſſary Bills for the Kingdom, which if they did not, the blame of the neglect, muſt reſt upon themſelves, and it would be obſerved, they had not ſate to any effect this four years; and that now they had a Seſſion, and had given a Million, they did take little care to redreſs Grievances, or paſs good Laws, for the People, and that they ſhould not be able to give any account of themſelves to their Neighbours in the Country, unleſs they ſhould face them down, that there was no Grievance or Miſchief in the Nation to be redreſſed, and that the King had ſtopped their mouths, and laid to them by offering them to ſit longer.

Others ſaid, they ſhould perfect the two Mony Bills, and give the King Eaſe, and take another time to conſider further of Religion, Liberty and Property, eſpecially ſeeing all Bills now depending, would be kept on foot, the Intended Receſs being to be but an Adjournment, that they had very good Laws already, and would give their ſhares in any new ones, they were making, to be in the Country at the preſent time, that it was neceſſary for them to be there the 10*th* of *May*, to Execute the Act for 600000 *l. &c.* and ſome time was to be allowed for their Journeys, and reſt after it, that *the paſſing ſome neceſſary Bills*, came in the end of the King's Meſſage, and by the by; for his Majeſty ſaith, *That if for this Reaſon*, that is, for making of preparations, *&c. they ſhould deſire to ſit longer*, and if ſo, then alſo take the opportunity of paſſing ſuch Bills. So the ſenſe and inclination of the Houſe was to riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been before intimated and expected.

Then they fell upon the main conſideration of the Meſſage, and to make a preſent Anſwer.

The Secretary and other Miniſters of State ſaid, that the alteration of Affairs which his Majeſty took notice of, was the ſucceſs of the *French* againſt the Prince of *Orange* in the Battel, and their proceeding to take *Cambray* and S. *Omers*.

Thus by Inches, or rather great meaſures they were taking in *Flanders*, which was reckoned the Out-work of *England*, as well as *Holland*, and they ſaid plainly, nothing could put his Majeſty in a condition to make fitting preparations to preſerve the Kingdom, but ready Mony.

To this it was anſwered, that it was not proper nor uſual to ask Mony at the end of a Seſſion, and it was fit that Alliances ſhould be firſt made, and that they ſhould adjourn rather till that were done, for they ought not to give Mony till they knew for what, and it was clearly ſpoken and made out to them, that if there were no Summers War, there was Mony enough given already.

It was replyed, That they had not direction from his Majeſty as to what he had reſolved, and it might be not convenient to diſcover and publiſh ſuch things, but they would offer their Gueſs and Aim at ſome things, if there were any Approaches towards War, though they ought to conſider and compute like him in the Goſpel, whether with ſuch a Force they could encounter a King that came againſt them with ſuch a Force, they ſhould think of providing a Guard for the Iſle of *Wight*, *Jerſey*, *Garnſey* and *Ireland*, and ſecure our Coaſts, and be in a defenſive poſture on the Land, we might be attacked in a night.

Alſo there would be a neceſſity of an extraordinary Summer Guard at Sea, his Majeſty did uſe to apply 400000 *l.* yearly out of the Cuſtoms upon his Fleets, (the very harbour Expence) which in Anchorage, Mooring, Docks and Repairs, *&c.* was 110000 *l. per annum*, and he was now ſetting forth 40 Ships for the Summer Guard, but if there were a diſpoſition towards War, there muſt be more Ships, or at leaſt thoſe muſt be more fully manned, and more ſtrongly appointed, and furniſhed the more, eſpecially if the Breach were ſudden, for otherwiſe our Trading Ships at Sea, as well as thoſe Ships and Goods in the *French* Ports, would be expoſed. Now it is reaſonable that the remainder which was above and beyond the Kings ordinary Allowance, ſhould be ſupplyed by the Parliament, and the Extraordinary Preparations of this kind for the preſent, could not amount to leſs than 200000 *l.*

It

It was anſwered, That it was a Melancholy thing to think *Jerſey*, &c. were not well enough ſecured, at leaſt as well as in the Year 1665, when we alone had War with the *French* and *Dutch* too and yet the King's Revenue was leſs then than now. That the Revenue of *Ireland* was 500000 *l. per annum*, beyond the Eſtabliſhment (that is, the Civil, Military, and all payments of the Government) which if not ſent over hither, but diſpoſed there, would ſuffice to defend that Kingdom. And they remember that about a month ago, they were told by ſome of theſe Gentlemen, that the *French* King would not take more Towns in *Flanders* if he might have them, but was drawing off to meet the *Germans*, who would be in the field in *May*; and therefore it was ſtrange he ſhould be repreſented now as ready to invade us, and that we muſt have an Army raiſed and kept on our Iſlands and Land. No they would not have that, it would be a great matter in the Ballance, if the King's Subjects were withdrawn from the *French* ſervice, and applied on the other ſide, and till that were done; that we did continue to be contributary to the Greatneſs of *France*. But a Fleet would protect our Whole. Ships are the defence of an Iſland, and thereby we may hope to keep at a diſtance, and not apprehend, or prepare to meet him at our Doors. He learns by *Sicily* what it is to invade an Iſland, he is not like to attempt an Invaſion of us, till he hath ſome Maſtery at Sea, which is impoſſible for him to have, ſo long as he is diverted and imployed at Land in the *Mediterranean*, and in the *Weſt Indies*, as he is.

And as to our Merchants Ships and Goods, they are in more danger now than they were in any War whenſoever. Nay, there was more expectation of this, than there was of the laſt War, for the firſt notice we or the *Dutch* had of that Breach, was the Attempt upon their *Smyrna* Fleet.

Alſo it is obſerved, that what was ſaid a fortnight ago (that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to lay in Beef, and it would ſtink) was admitted to be a miſtake; for that now it was urged, that a greater and better appointed Fleet muſt be furniſhed out: but ſtill it was inſiſted on, that they were in the dark, his Majeſty did not ſpeak out, that he would make the deſired Alliancies againſt the growth of *France*, and reſolve with his Parliament to maintain them, and ſo long as there was any coldneſs or reſervedneſs of this kind, they had no clear grounds to grant money for Preparations. His Majeſty was a Prince of that Goodneſs and Care, towards his People, that none did diſtruſt him, but there was a Diſtruſt of ſome of his Miniſters, and a Jealouſie that they were under *French Influences*; and Complaints and Addreſſes had been made againſt them; and upon the diſcourſe of providing for the ſafety of the Nation, it being ſaid we might be ſecured by the *Guarranty* of the General Peace, it was reflected on as a thing moſt pernicious to us, and that our money and endeavours could not be worſe applied, than to procure that Peace. Articles are not to be relied on. All that they deſired, was, That his Majeſty and his People Unanimouſly, Truly, Sincerely and Throughly declare and engage in this buſineſs, with a mutual confidence ſpeaking out on both ſides, and this, and nothing but this, would diſcharge and extinguiſh all Jealouſies.

But it was Objected, It was not convenient to diſcover his Majeſties ſecret purpoſes in a Publick Aſſembly, it might be too ſoon known abroad, and there was no reaſon to diſtruſt his Majeſty, but that being enabled, he would prepare and do all things expedient for the Kingdom.

It was anſwered, That it was uſual for Forrain Miniſters to get notice of the Councils of Princes, as the Earl of *Briſtol* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, in the laſt part of *King James*'s Reign, procured Copies, and often the ſight of the Originals of Diſpatches, and Cabinet papers of the King of *Spain*. But acknowledging that his Majeſties Councels cannot be penetrated by the *French*, yet the things would in a ſhort time diſcover themſelves: beſides they ſaid, They did not much deſire ſecrecy, for let the King take a great Reſolution, and put himſelf at the Head of his Parliament and People in this weighty and worthy Cauſe of *England*, and let a flying Poſt carry the news to *Paris*, and let the *French* King do his worſt.

His Majeſty never had, nor never will have cauſe to diſtruſt his People. In 1667, in confidence of our Aid, he made a League without advice of Parliament (commonly called the *Tripple League*) which was for the Intereſt of *England*, and whereby his Majeſty became the Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, and in the Name and upon the Account of that, the Parliament gave him ſeveral Supplies.

In 1672, He made War without the Advice of Parliament, which War the Parliament thought not for the Intereſt of *England* to continue, yet even therein they would not leave him, but gave him 1200000 *l.* to carry himſelf on and out of it.

How much more are they concerned and obliged to ſupply and aſſiſt him in theſe Alliances and War (if it enſue) which are ſo much for the Intereſt of *England*, and entered into by the preſſing Advice of Parliament.

We hope his Majeſty will declare himſelf in earneſt, and we are in earneſt, having his Majeſties heart with us, *Let his hand Rot off that is not ſtretcht out for this Affair*: we will not ſtick at this or that ſum or thing, but we will go with his Majeſty to all Extremities.

We are now afraid of the *French* King, becauſe he has great Force, and extraordinary thinking men about him, which manage his affairs to a wonder, but we truſt his Majeſty

will have his Buſineſs managed by thinking men, that will be provident and careful of his Intereſt, and not ſuffer him to pay, *Cent. per Cent.* more than the things are worth, that are taken up and uſed: and if the work be entred upon in this manner, we hope *England* will have *Engliſh* ſucceſs with *France*, as it is in Bowling, if your Bowl be well ſet out, you may wink, and it will go to the Mark.

Were the thing clear and throughly undertaken, there would be leſs reaſon to diſpute of time, there was never a Council but would ſit on *Sunday*, or any day for ſuch Publick Work.

In fine, they ſaid, The buſineſs muſt lie at one door or other, and they would not for any thing, that it ſhould ſtat in their hands.

And although they ſhould hope in an Exigence his Majeſty would lend to his People, who had given ſo much to him, yet they ſaid, They could not leave him without providing him a ſum of money, as much as he could uſe between this and ſome convenient time after *Eaſter*, when he might, if he pleaſe command their full attendance, by ſome publick Notification, and this was the mentioned ſum of 200000 *l.* The Expedient they provided for doing this, was adding a Borrowing Clauſe to the Bill for almoſt 600000 *l.* (ſuch an one as was in the *Poll Bill*) the Effect of which is to enable his Majeſty preſently to take up, on the Credit of this Bill 200000 *l.* ready money at 7 *l. per Cent. per Annum* Intereſt.

And this they ſaid might now be done, though the Bill were paſſed by them, and alſo (ſave that they had made the above mentioned amendment) by the Lords, for that *Poll Bill* was explained by another Act paſſed a few days after, in the ſame Seſſion. But in *Hackwells Modus tenendi Parli. pag.* 173, was a more remarkable Precedent, and exact in the Point.

But after ſome Diſcourſe of ſetting looſe part of this 600000 *l. &c.* they reflected that this 600000 *l. &c.* was appropriate for the building of Ships, and they would not have this appropriation unhing d by any means, and thereupon reſolved to annex the borrowing Clauſe to the Bill for continuing the additional duty of Exciſe, for three years, which was not yet paſſed; againſt which it was Objected, That it was given for other purpoſes *viz.* to give the King eaſe to pay Intereſt for his Debts, *&c.* But on the contrary it was anſwered, That the Preamble ſpeaks not of his Debts, but *His extraordinary Occaſions*; but beſides, they did not intend to withdraw ſo much of their Gift, but did reſolve to re-emburſe his Majeſty the 200000 *l.* ſo much of it, as he ſhould lay out in extraordinary Preparations.

But then it was Objected, That this would be a kind of denouncing of War, and that 200000 *l.* was a miſerable, mean and incompetent ſum to defend us againſt thoſe whom we ſhould provoke.

But it was Anſwered, That it was but an Earneſt of what they intended, and that they were willing to meet again and give further Supplies; beſides the *French* King was not Formidable for any great hurt that he could do us during the Confederacy, there were ſeveraal Princes of *Germany*, as the Arch-Biſhop of *Mets* and *Triers*, the *Palſgrave*, the Duke of *Newburgh*, &c. which are at War with him and are ſafe; and yet they are much more weak and inconſiderable than we; but they are defended not by their own ſtrength, but by the whole Confederacy.

The Debate concluded in Voting the following Anſwer, which was preſented to his Majeſty by the Speaker and the whole Houſe, *Friday*, *April* 13.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

WE your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do with great ſatisfaction of mind, obſerve the regard your Majeſty is pleaſed to Expreſs to our former Addreſſes, by Intimating to us the late alterations of Affairs abroad, and do return our moſt humble thanks, for your Majeſties moſt Gracious Offer made to us thereupon in your late Meſſage: and having taken a ſerious Deliberation of the ſame and of the Preparations your Majeſty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made, in order to thoſe publick ends, we have for the preſent provided a ſecurity in a Bill for the Additional duty of Exciſe, upon which your Majeſty may raiſe the ſum of 200000 *l. And if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call us together again for this purpoſe, in ſome ſhort time after* Eaſter, *by any publick ſignification of your pleaſure, commanding our Attendance; we ſhall at our next meeting not only be ready to re-imburſe your Majeſty what Sums of money ſhall be expended upon ſuch Extraordinary Preparations as ſhall be made in purſuance of our former Addreſſes; but ſhall likewiſe with thankful hearts proceed then, and at all other times, to furniſh your Majeſty with ſo large proportion of Aſſiſtance and Supplies upon this Occaſion, as*

may

may give your Majeſty and the whole World, an ample Teſtimony of our Loyalty and Affection to your Majeſties Service, and as may enable your Majeſty by the help of Almighty God, to maintain ſuch ſtricter Alliances as you ſhall have entred into againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.

Eaſter Monday, April 19. Another Meſſage in writing from his Majeſty, was delivered by Secretary *Williamſon* to the Houſe of Commons *(viz.)*

C. R.

HIS Majeſty having conſidered the Anſwer of this Houſe to the laſt Meſſage about enabling him to make fitting Preparations for the Security of theſe Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only enabled him to borrow 200000 *l. upon a* Fond *given him for other uſes; His Majeſty deſires therefore this Houſe ſhould know, and he hopes they will always beleive of him, that not only that* Fond, *but any other within his Power ſhall be engaged to the utmoſt of his power for the Preſervation of his Kingdoms; but as his Majeſties condition is (which his Majeſty doubts not but is as well known to this Houſe as himſelf) he muſt tell them plainly, that without the ſum* Six hundred thouſand pounds, *or Credit for ſuch a ſum, upon new* Fonds, *it will not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much Greater danger: His Majeſty doth further acquaint you, that having done his part, and laid the true ſtate of things before you, he will not be wanting to uſe the beſt means for the ſafety of his People, which his preſent Condition is capable of.*

Given at our Court at *White Hall, April* 16. 1677.

Thereupon the Houſe fell into preſent Conſideration of an Anſwer, and in the firſt place, it was agreed to return great thanks to his Majeſty for his Zeal for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and the hopes he had given them that he was convinced and ſatisfied, ſo as he would ſpeak and act according to what they had deſired, and they reſolved to give him the utmoſt aſſurance, that they would ſtand by him, and ſaid no man could be unwilling to give a fourth or third part to ſave the reſidue. But they ſaid they ought to conſider that now they were a very thin Houſe, many of their Members being gone home, and that upon ſuch a Ground as they could not well blame them; for it was upon a preſumption that the Parliament ſhould riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been intimated from his Majeſty within this fortnight, and univerſally expected ſince, and it would be un-Parliamentary, and very ill taken by their Fellow-members, if in this their Abſence they ſhould ſteal the Priviledg of granting money, and the Thanks which are given for it; that this was a National Buſineſs if ever any were, and therefore fit to be handled in a full National Repreſentative, and if it had hitherto ſeemed to go up-hill, there was a greater cauſe to put the whole ſhoulder to it, and this would be aſſuring, animating, and ſatisfactory to the whole Nation. But they ſaid it was not their mind to give or ſuffer any delay, they would deſire a Receſs but for three weeks or a month at moſt.

And the 200000 *l.* which they had provided for preſent uſe, was as much as could be laid out in the mean time, tho his Majeſty had 600000 *l.* more ready told upon the Table.

And therefore they thought it moſt reaſonable and adviſable, that his Majeſty ſhould ſuffer them to Adjourn for ſuch a time; in the Interim of which his Majeſty might, if he pleaſed, make uſe of the 200000 *l.* and might alſo compleat the deſired Alliances, and give notice by Proclamation to all Members to attend at the time appointed.

The Anſwer is as followeth.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

WE your Majeſties moſt Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, having conſidered your Majeſties laſt Meſſage, and the gratious Expreſſions therein contained, for imploying your Majeſties whole Revenue at any time to raiſe money for the Preſervation of your Majeſties Kingdoms;

find

find great cauſe to return our moſt humble thanks to your Majeſty for the ſame, and to deſire your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, that you ſhall find as much duty and affection in us, as can be expected from a moſt Loyal People, to their moſt gratious Soveraign. And whereas your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſignifie to us, that the ſum of 200000 *l. is not ſufficient, without a further Supply, to enable your Majeſty to* ſpeak or act *thoſe things which are deſired by your People; We humbly take leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that many of our Members (being upon an expectation of an Adjournment before* Eaſter*) are gone into their ſeveral Countries, we cannot think it Parliamentary in their Abſence, to take upon us the granting of money, but do therefore deſire your Majeſty to be pleaſed that this Houſe may Adjourn it ſelf for ſuch a ſhort time, before the ſum of* 200000 *l. can be expended, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, and by your Royal Proclamation to command the attendance of all our Members at the day of Meeting. By which time we hope your Majeſty may have ſo formed your Affairs, and fixed your Alliances, in purſuance of our former Addreſſes, that your Majeſty may be gratiouſly pleaſed to impart them to us in Parliament; and we no ways doubt but at our next Aſſembling, your Majeſty will not only meet with a Compliance in the Supply your Majeſty deſires, but withal ſuch farther Aſſiſtance as the poſture of your Majeſties Affairs ſhall require. In Confidence whereof, we hope your Majeſty will be encouraged in the mean time to* ſpeak and act *ſuch things as your Majeſty ſhall judg neceſſary for attaining thoſe great Ends, as we have formerly repreſented to your Majeſty.*

And now the money Bill being Paſſed both Houſes, and the *French* having by the ſurrender of *Cambray* alſo to them, perfected the Conqueſt of this Campagne, as was projected, and the money for further preparations having been asked, only to gain a pretence for refuſing their Addreſſes, the Houſes were adjourned *April* the 16. till the 21 of *May* next. And the rather, becauſe at the ſame moment of their riſing, a Grand *French Embaſſador* was coming over. For all things betwixt *France* and *England* moved with that punctual Regularity, that it was like the Harmony of the Spheres, ſo conſonant with themſelves, although we cannot hear the Muſick.

There landed immediately after the Receſs, the Duke of *Crequi*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, Monſieur *Barrillon*, and a Train of three or four hundred Perſons of all Qualities, ſo that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of *France*, with ſo many of their Commons, meeting the King at *Newmarket*, it looked like another Paliament, And that the *Engliſh* had been Adjourned, in order to their better Reception. But what Addreſs they made to his Majeſty, or what Acts they paſſed, hath not yet been Publiſhed. But thoſe that have been in diſcourſe were,

An Act for continuing his Majeſties Subjects in the Service of France.

An Act of Abolition of all Claims and Demands from the Subjects of France, *an Account of all Prizes made of the* Engliſh *at Sea, ſince the year* 1674 *till that day, and for the future.*

An Act for marrying the Children of the Royal Family to Proteſtant Princes.

An Act for a further ſupply of French *money.*

But becauſe it appears not, that all theſe, and many others of more ſecret nature, paſſed the Royal Aſſent, it ſufficeth thus far to have mentioned them. Only it is moſt certain, that although the *Engliſh* Parliament was kept aloof from the buſineſs of War, Peace, and Alliance, as Improper for their Intermedling, and Preſumptions, Yet with theſe three Eſtates of *France* all theſe things were negotiated and tranſacted in the greateſt confidence. And ſo they were Adjourned from *New-Market* to *London*, and there continued till the return of the *Engliſh* Parliament, when they were diſmiſſed home with all the Signs and Demonſtrations of mutual ſatisfaction.

And for better *Preparations* at home, before the Parliament met, there was Printed a ſecond Packet of Advice to the men of *Shafisbury*. The firſt had been ſold up and down the Nation, and tranſmitted to *Scotland*, where 300 of them were Printed at *Edenburgh*: and 40 Copies ſent from thence to *England* fairly bound up and Guilded, to ſhew in what great Eſtimation it was in that Kingdom; but this, the ſale growing heavy, was diſperſed as a Donative all over *England*, and it was an Incivility to have enquired from whence they had it, but it was a Book, though it came from Hell, that ſeemed as if it dropped from Heaven, among men. Some Imagined by the weight and the wit of it, that it proceeded from the Two Lords, the Black and the White, who when their care of the late Sitting was over, had given themſelves *Carrier*; and after the Triumphs of the *Tongue*, had eſtabliſhed thoſe Trophies of the *Pen*, over their Impriſoned Adverſaries. But that had been a thing unworthy of the *Preachwellian* Generoſity, or *Treriſin* Magnanimity; and rather befits the mean malice of the ſame Vulgar Scribler, hired by the Conſpirators at ſo much a ſheet, or for day-wages; and when that is ſpent, he ſhall for leſs money blaſpheme his God, revile

his

his Prince, and belie his Country, if his former Books have Omitted any thing of thoſe Arguments; and ſhall Curſe his own Father into the Bargain.

Monday, May 21. 1677.

The Parliament met according to their late Adjournment, on, and from *April* 16. to *May* 21. 1677.

There was no ſpeech from the King to the Parliament; but in the Houſe of Commons.

This Meeting was opened with a Verbal Meſſage from his Majeſty, delivered by Secretary *Coventry*, wherein his Majeſty acquainted the Houſe, that having according to their deſire in their Anſwer to his late Meſſage *April* 16. directed their Adjournment to this time: becauſe they did alledge it to be unparliamentary to grant Supplies when the houſe was ſo thin, in exſpectation of a ſpeedy Adjournment; and having alſo Iſſued out his Proclamation of Summons, to the end there might be a full Houſe, he did now expect they would forthwith enter upon the conſideration of his laſt Meſſage, and the rather, becauſe he did intend there ſhould be a Receſs very quickly.

Upon this it was moved, That the King's laſt Meſſage (of *April* 16.) and the Anſwer thereunto ſhould be read, and they were read accordingly.

Thereupon, after a long ſilence, a diſcourſe began about their exſpectation, and neceſſity of Alliances.

And particularly, it was intimated that an Alliance with *Holland* was moſt expedient; for that we ſhould deceive our ſelves if we thought we could be defended otherwiſe, we alone could not withſtand the *French*, his Purſe and Power was too great. Nor could the *Dutch* withſtand him. But both together might.

The general diſcourſe was, That they came with an exſpectation to have Alliances declared, and if they were not made ſo as to be imparted, they were not called or come to that purpoſe they deſired, and hoped to meet upon, and if ſome few days might ripen them, they would be content to Adjourn for the mean time.

The Secretary and others ſaid, Theſe Alliances were things of great weight, and difficulty, and the time had been ſhort, but if they were finiſht, yet it was not convenient to publiſh them, till the King was in a readineſs and poſture to proſecute and maintain them, till when his Majeſty could not ſo much as ſpeak out, inſiſting on his words, *That without* 600000 *l. it would not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or Act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much greater dangers.*

By others it was obſerved and ſaid, That they met now upon a publick notice by Proclamation, which Proclamation was in purſuance of their laſt Addreſs, in which Addreſs they deſire the King they may Adjourn for ſuch time, as within which (they hoped) Alliances might be fixed, ſo as to be imparted. They mentioned not any particular day; if his Majeſty had not thought this time long enough for the purpoſe, he might have appointed the Adjournment for a longer time; or he might have given notice by Proclamation that upon this account, they ſhould re-adjourn to a yet longer time.

But ſurely, the time hath been ſufficient, eſpecially conſidering the readineſs of the Parties to be Allied with; It is five weeks ſince our Receſs. He that was a Miniſter cheifly imployed in making the *Tripple League*, has ſince publiſhed in Print, That that League was made in five days, and yet that might well be thought a matter more tedious and long then this; for when people are in Profound Peace (as the *Dutch* then were) it was not eaſie to embark them preſently into Leagues. They had time and might take it for greater deliberation, but here the people are in the diſtreſs of War, and need our Alliance, and therefore it might be contracted with eaſe and expedition, were we as forward as they.

Neither is five weeks the limit of the time, that has been for this purpoſe, for it is about ten weeks ſince we firſt Addreſſed for theſe Alliances.

And as to the Objection, that it was not fit to make them known before preparation were made, They ſaid, The force of that lay in this, that the *French* would be allarmed. But they anſwered that the asking and giving money for this purpoſe would be no leſs an Allarm. For the *French* could not be ignorant of what Addreſſes and Anſwers have paſſed; and if money be granted to make Warlike preparations, for the end therein ſpecified, it is rather a greater diſcovery and denouncing of what we intended againſt the *French*.

Grotius (*de jure Belli & Pacis*) ſays, If a Prince make extraordinary preparations, a neighbour Prince who may be affected by them may expoſtulate, and demand an account of the purpoſe for which they are intended, and if he receive not ſatisfaction, that they are not to be uſed againſt him, it is a cauſe of War on his part, ſo as that Neighbour may begin if he think fit, and is not bound to ſtay till the firſt preparer firſt begin actual Hoſtility; and this is agreeable to Reaſon, and the nature of Government.

Now the *French* King, is a vigilant Prince, and has wiſe Miniſters about him, upon which general account (though we had not as we have ſeen an extraordinary *French* Embaſſy here during our Receſs) we ſhould ſuppoſe that the *French* King has demanded an account of our

King's purpoſe, and whether the extraordinary preparations that are begun and to be made, are deſigned againſt him or not. In which caſe his Majeſty could give but one of three Anſwers.

1. To ſay, They are not deſigned againſt him, and then his Majeſty may acquaint us with the ſame, and then there is no occaſion of our giving money.

2. To ſay, They are deſigned againſt him, in which caſe his Majeſty may very well impart the ſame to us. For it were in vain to conceal it from us, to the end that the *French* might not be allarm'd, when it is before expreſly told the *French*, that the deſign was againſt him.

3. To give a doubtful anſwer. But that reſolves into the ſecond. For when a Prince out of an apprehenſion that extraordinary preparations may be uſed againſt him, deſires a clear, categorical and ſatisfactory anſwer concerning the matter (as the manner of Princes is.) A dubious Anſwer does not at all ſatisfie his inquiry, nor allay his Jealouſie; but, in that caſe it is, and is uſed, to be taken and underſtood, that the forces are deſigned againſt him.

And if his Majeſty have given no anſwer at all (which is not probable) it is the ſame with the laſt.

So that this being ſo, by one means or other the *French* have the knowledge of the King's purpoſe, and if it be known to, or but gueſſed at by them, why is it concealed from his Parliament? Why this darkneſs towards us?

Beſides we expect not ſo much good as we would, ſo long as we are afraid the *French* ſhould know what we are a doing.

In this ſtate of uncertainty, and unripeneſs the Houſe Adjourned to *Wedneſday* Morning, nine a clock, having firſt ordered the Committee for the Bill for recalling his Majeſties Subjects out of the ſervice of the *French* King, to ſit this after-noon, which did ſit accordingly, and went through the Bill.

Wedneſday, May 23. 1677.

His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage for the Houſe to attend him preſently at the Banqueting-Houſe in *White-hall*, where he made the following Speech to them.

Gentlemen,

I Have ſent for you hither, that I might prevent thoſe Miſtakes and Diſtruſts which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together, only to get money from you, for other uſes than you would have it imployed. I do aſſure you on the Word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any truſt you repoſe in me, for the ſafety of my Kingdoms; and I deſire you to beleive I would not break my Credit with you; but as I have already told you, that it will not be poſſible for me to ſpeak or act *thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing my Kingdoms to much greater dangers, ſo I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own ſafety, nor yours, until I be in a better condition than I am able to put my ſelf, both to defend my Subjects and offend my Enemies.*

I do further aſſure you, I have not loſt one day ſince your laſt meeting, in doing all I could for your Defence; and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your fault and not mine, if your Security be not ſufficiently provided for.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, and the Speech being there read, they preſently reſolved to conſider it, and after a little while reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, for the more full, free, and regular debate.

The Secretary and others propounded the ſupplying the King, wherein they ſaid they did not preſs the Houſe, but they might do as they pleaſed. But if it be expected that Alliances be made and made known, there muſt be 600000 *l.* raiſed to make preparation before, for the King had declared that without it, it could not be poſſible for him *to ſpeak or act*; he could not ſafely move a ſtep further. The King had the right of making Peace, War, and Leagues, as this Houſe has of giving money, he could not have money without them, nor they Alliance without him. The King had conſidered this matter, and this was his Judgment, That he ought by ſuch a ſum to be put into a poſture to maintain and proſecute his Alliance, before they could or ſhould be declared, and truly otherwiſe our nakedneſs and weakneſs would be expoſed.

'Tis true as has been objected, The asking and giving money for this purpoſe, would allarm as much as the declaring Alliance, but then it would defend too. A Whip will allarm a wild Beaſt, but it will not defend the man: a Sword will allarm the Beaſt too, but then it will alſo defend the man.

We know the King would ſtrip himſelf to his ſhirt rather than hazard the Nation. He has done much already, he has ſet out, and made ready to ſet out 44 Ships, but they muſt be diſtributed to ſeveral places for Convoys, *&c.* There would need it may be 40 more in a body

body. And it is difficult to get Seamen, many are gone into the Service of the *French*, *Dutch*, &c. The King is fain to preſs now.

The King has not had any fruit of the 200000 *l.* credit provided him upon the three years Exciſe, he has tried the City to borrow money of them thereupon, and my Lord Mayor returned anſwer, That he had endeavoured but could not encourage his Majeſty to depend upon the City for it.

Several others, ſomewhat different, ſpake to this effect, We ſhould conſider in this caſe, as in the caſe of the King's Letters, Patents, Proclamations, *&c.* If any thing in them be againſt Law and Reaſon, Lawyers and Courts, judg it void, and reckon it not to be ſaid or done by the King, *For the King can do no wrong*, tho his Counſel may. So we muſt look upon the King's Speeches and Meſſages as the product of Counſel, and therefore if any miſtake be therein, it muſt be imputed to the error of his Counſel, and it muſt be taken that the King never ſaid it. Now to apply certainly the treating and concluding of Alliances, requires not a previous ſum of money, however the King's Counſel may miſinform. They may be propounded and accepted, by the means of the Forraign Miniſters, even without an Embaſſy to be ſent hence; and yet if that were requiſite, it were an extraordinary Charge.

Alliances may be made forthwith, and then money would be granted forthwith; if they were declared to day, the 600000 *l.* ſhould be given to Morrow, and as occaſion ſhould require.

And there is no fear but money would be found for this purpoſe, our own Extravagancies would maintain a War.

The money which has been provided the King already this Seſſion, is ſufficient for all Preparations that can poſſibly be made before theſe Alliances may be made.

Forty Ships of ours with the help of the *Dutch*, are a good Defence againſt the *French* at Sea, now he is ſo entangled with *Sicily*, the *Weſt Indies*, &c. In the *Tripple League*, it was ſtipulated, that forty of our Ships, and forty of the *Dutch* ſhould be provided, and they were thought ſufficient for the purpoſe.

If it were required that forty more Ships ſhould be ſet out, 600000 *l.* is enough to maintain and pay a whole year clear for the Carpenters work, and ſuch like as ſhould preſently be required, for the fitting them to go out a little money will ſerve.

And ſurely this is the only preparation that can be meant, for if it ſhould be meant, that we ſhould fortifie the Land with Forts, Garriſons, walled Towns, *&c.* it is not ſix Millions will do it. But our Strength, Force and Defence, is our Ships. For the debate of this day it is as great and weighty as ever was any in *England*, it concerns our very Being, and includes our Religion, Liberty and Property; *The Door towards* France *muſt be ſhut and Guarded, for ſo long as it is open, our Treaſure and Trade will creep out, and their Religion creep in at it*, and this time is our ſeaſon, ſome miſcheif will be done us, and ſo there will at any time when the War is begun, but now the leaſt.

The *French* is not very dangerous to us, nor to be much feared by us at this preſent, but we ought to adviſe and act ſo now, as we may not fear or deſpair hereafter when the *French* ſhall make Peace beyond Sea, and likely he will make Alliances with thoſe People with whom we defer to make them; how ripe and great is our Miſery then?

The power and policy of the *French* is extraordinary, and his money influences round about him.

We are glad to obſerve upon what is ſaid by and of the King, that his Majeſty agrees with us in the end, and we hope he will be convinced of the reaſonableneſs of the means, which is to make and follow theſe Alliances, without which plainly we can give no account to our ſelves, or thoſe we repreſent, of giving money.

We have made ſeveral Addreſſes about ſome of the King's Miniſters their management, *&c.* Of which we have ſeen little fruit. There have continually allmoſt to this hour gone out of *England* Succours to *France*, of Men, Powder, Ammunition, Ordnance, *&c.* Not to rake into the matter, how far the Miniſters have been active or paſſive in this, nor to mention any other particulars, we muſt ſay, That unleſs the Miniſters, or their minds are altered, we have no reaſon to truſt money in their hands, though we declare we have no purpoſe to arrign or attempt upon them, but would rather propoſe to them an eaſie way how they might have Oblivion, nay, and the thanks of the People, *viz.* That they ſhould endeavour and contend, who could do moſt to diſpoſe the King to comply with this advice of his Parliament.

We think the proſecuting theſe Alliances, the only good uſe for which our money can be imployed, and therefore before we give, we ſhould be ſecure it ſhould be applied to this purpoſe, and not by miſcounſels be diverted to others.

This is the mature Counſel of the Parliamentt, and no Croſs or other Counſel is to be received or Truſted, for attaining theſe great Advices which the King and Parliament are agreed on.

To part with money before Alliances are made, is needleſs and to no purpoſe, at beſt it would be the way to ſpend that money before hand in vain, which we ſhall need hereafter, when we ſhall be forced to enter into this defence againſt *France*.

It

It would be like an errour committed in the late King's time, and which looks as if men had given Counſel on purpoſe to deſtroy that Good King. He had by the care and faithfulneſs of Biſhop *Juxton* and others, collected and preſerved a good ſum of money before the *Scotiſh* Rebellion, in *One thouſand Six hundred Thirty nine*, upon that Rebellion he was adviſed to raiſe an Army at Land, which indeed was neceſſary; but he was likewiſe adviſed to ſet out ſeveral of his great Rate-Ships. This appeared in the papers of Sir *Robert Long*'s Office, and may there be ſeen ſtill, if the Papers are not ſcattered. A man cannot tell to what end this advice was given, unleſs to ſpend the King's money: for the Admiralty of *Scotland* is not now, and much leſs then was ſo conſiderable, as to require any ſuch force againſt it. And if the deſign were to hinder their Commerce and Recours by Sea, the charge of one of thoſe great Ships might have been divided and applied to the ſetting out five or ſix leſs Ships, each of which was capable of doing as much for that Service, as ſuch a great one, and could keep out at Sea longer.

It is a plain caſe, unleſs the power of *France* be lowred, we cannot be ſafe; without Conjunction with other Confederates, it cannot be done. The queſtion is, whether the preſent be the proper time for the work. Certainly it is, there is a happy Confederation againſt the *French*, which we cannot ſo well hope to have continued without our coming into it, much leſs can we hope to recover or recruit it, if once broken. The very ſeaſon of the Year favours the Buſineſs. It is proper and ſafe to begin with the *French* in the Summer, now he is engaged and not at Leiſure, whereas in Winter when the Armies are drawn out of the Field he will be able to apply himſelf to us.

As to the Citizens not advancing money upon the late credit, we are informed they were never regularly or effectually asked: My Lord Mayor indeed was ſpoken to, and perhaps ſome of the Aldermen, but all they are not the City: he ſent about curiouſly to ſome of the Citizens, to know if they would lend, of which they took little or no notice, it being not agreeable to their way and uſage; for the cuſtom in ſuch caſes has always been, that ſome Lord of the Council, did go down to the Common Counſel, which is the Repreſentative Body of the City, and there propound the matter.

Beſides in this particular caſe the Citizens generally asked the ſame queſtion we do: Are the Alliances made? and ſaid, If they were made, they would lend money, but if not, they ſaw no cauſe for it.

Philip the ſecond of *Spain* made an Obſervation in his Will, or ſome laſt Memorial, and 'tis ſince publiſhed in Print by Monſieur. He obſerves the vanity of any Princes aſpiring at the univerſal Monarchy, for that it naturally made the reſt of the World jointly his Enemies, but Ambition blinds men, ſuffers them not to look back on ſuch Experiences. But this Obſervation ſhews what is natural for others to do in ſuch a caſe; and that the way to repel and break ſuch a deſign, is by their univerſal confederation.

Philip the Second was moſt capable of making this Obſervation, for in his hands periſhed the *Spaniſh* Deſign of the Univerſal Monarchy, and that chiefly by reaſon of the Conjunction of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* againſt him.

In the proceſs of this debate, Gentlemen did more particularly explain themſelves, and propound to Addreſs their deſign to the King, for a League offenſive and defenſive with the *Dutch* againſt the *French* power.

Againſt which a ſpecious *Objection* was made, That the *Dutch* were already treating with the *French*, and 'twas like they would ſlip Collar, make a ſeparate Peace for themſelves and leave us engaged in a War with *France*.

To which was Anſwered, That there was no juſt fear of that, the *Dutch* were Intereſſed in repreſſing the Power of *France* as well as we, and they knew their Intereſt. It was reaſonable for them to ſay, If *England*, which is as much concerned in this danger, will not aſſiſt us, we will make the beſt terms we can for our ſelves, there is yet a Seam of Land between the *French* and us, we may Trade by or under them, &c.

But if *England* will join with the *Dutch*, they cannot find one ſyllable of reaſon to deſert the Common Cauſe.

They have obſerved a propenſity in the People of *England* to help them, but not in the Court of *England*. If they can find that the Court does heartily join, it will above all things oblige and confirm them.

In *One thouſand ſix hundred ſixty ſeven*, when the *Dutch* were in Peace and Plenty, when *Flanders* was a greater Bulwark to them; for the *French* had not peirced ſo far into it, and when the direction of their Affairs was in a hand of inveterate enmity to the *Crown* of *England* (*John de Witt*;) yet then their Intereſt did ſo far Govern him and them, as to enter into the *Tripple League*, againſt the growth and power of *France*, and keep it more; and moſt certainly therefore now they are exhauſted and weakned by a War, and ſtand in need of our help, now the *French* have approached nearer the brink of their Country, and are encreaſed in Naval Force to the danger of their Trade and Navigation; and now their Affairs are chiefly directed by a Kinſman of the Crown of *England*, the Prince of *Orange*, they cannot deflect or ſtart from a League they make with us againſt our Common Enemy.

It was moved, That there might be a League Offenſive and Defenſive with *Spain* and the *Dutch*, and other convenient Alliances with the reſt of the Confederates; but the particular concerning *Spain*, was retracted and laid aſide by the general Diſcourſe of the Members to this purpoſe, *We do covet an Allyance with* Spain *above others, for that they are Owners of the* Netherlands, *for whoſe preſervation we have Addreſſed, that it is with* Spain *that we have the moſt, if not the only profitable Trade, and the* Spaniards *are good, gallant and ſure Friends. But they are remote, and we know not whether there are full powers here or at* Bruſſels *for this matter; and to wait for their coming from* Madrid, *would make Church-work; whereas we need the ſwifteſt expedition.*

Therefore they Voted their Addreſs to be particular and expreſly for ſuch a League with the *Dutch*, and as to the *Spaniards* together with the other Confederates in general.

This paſſed with very general conſent, there was an extraordinary full Houſe, and upon putting the Queſtion, there were but two negative Voices to it.

There were more then ordinary particulars appointed to be in the Addreſs, but no conteſt or debate about them.

The *Vote* was as followeth;

Reſolved,

THat an Addreſs be made to the King, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive, with the States-General *of the United Provinces, and to make ſuch other Alliances with others of the Confederates, as his Majeſty ſhall think fit againſt the growth and power of the* French *King, and for the preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands; *and that a* Committee *be appointed to draw up the Addreſs, with Reaſons why this Houſe cannot comply with his Majeſties Speech, untill ſuch Alliances be entred into; and further ſhewing the neceſſity of the ſpeedy making ſuch Alliances; and when ſuch Alliances are made, giving his Majeſty aſſurance of ſpeedy and chearful Supplies, from time to time, for ſupporting and maintaining ſuch Alliances.*

To which (the Speaker re-aſſuming the Chair, and this being reported) the Houſe agreed and appointed the Committee.

And Adjourned over *Aſcenſion*-Day till *Friday*.

In the interim, the Committee appointed, met and drew the Addreſs according to the above-mentioned Order, a true Copy of which is here annexed.

May it pleaſe your Moſt excellent Majeſty.

YOur Majeſties moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, have taken into their ſerious conſideration, your Majeſties gracious Speech and do beſeech your Majeſty, to believe it is a great affliction to them, to find themſelves obleiged (at preſent) to decline the granting your Majeſty the ſupply your Majeſty is pleaſed to demand, conceiving it is not agreeable to the uſuage of Parliament, to grant Supplyes for maintenance of Wars, and Alliances, before they are ſignified in Parliament (which the two Wars againſt the States of the United Provinces, ſince your Majeſties happy Reſtoration, and the League made in January, 1668, *for preſervation of the* Spaniſh Nether-Lands, *ſufficiently proved, without troubling your Majeſty with Inſtances of greater Antiquity) from which uſage if we might depart, the precedent might be of dangerous conſequence in future times, th ugh your Majeſties Goodneſs gives us great ſecurity during your Majeſties Reign, which we beſeech God long to continue.*

This Conſideration prompted us in our laſt Addreſs to your Majeſty, before our laſt Receſſe, humbly to mention to your Majeſty, our hopes, that before our meeting again your Majeſties Alliances might be ſo fixed, as that your Majeſty might be graciouſly pleaſed to impart them to us in Parliament, that ſo our earneſt deſires of ſupplying your Majeſty, for proſecuting thoſe great ends, we had humbly laid before your Majeſty, might meet with no impediment or obſtruction; being highly ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſupporting, as well as making the Alliances, humbly deſired in our former Addreſſes and which we ſtill conceive ſo important to the ſafety of your Majeſty and your Kingdomes, That we cannot (without unfaithfulneſs to your Majeſty and thoſe we repreſent) omit upon all occaſions, humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, as we now do. To enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with the States General of the United Provinces, againſt the growth and power of the *French* King, and for

the preſervation of the *Spaniſh Nether-Lands*, and to make ſuch other Alliances, with other ſuch of the Confederates, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit and uſeful to that end; *in doing which (that no time may be loſt) we humbly offer to his Majeſty theſe Reaſons for the expediting of it.*

1. *That if the entering into ſuch Alliances ſhould draw on a War with the* French *King, it would be leaſt detrimental to your Majeſties Subjects at this time of the year, they having now feweſt effects, within the Dominion of that King.*

2. *That though we have great reaſon to believe the power of the* French *King to be dangerous, to your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, when he ſhall be at more leiſure to moleſt us; yet we conceive the many Enemies he has to deal with at preſent, together with the ſituation of your Majeſties Kingdoms, the* Unanimity of the People in the Cauſe, *the care your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to take of your ordinary Guards of the Sea, together with the Credit provided by the late* Act *for an Additional Exciſe for three years, make the entring into, and declaring Alliances very ſafe, until we may in a regular way give your Majeſty ſuch further Supplies, as may enable your Majeſty to ſupport your Alliances, and defend your Kingdoms.*

And becauſe of the great danger and charge which muſt neceſſarily fall upon your Majeſties Kingdoms, if through want of that timely Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, which your Majeſties joyning with the States-General *of the* United Provinces, *and other the Confederates would give them, The ſaid* States *or any other conſiderable part of the Confederates, ſhould this next Winter, or ſooner, make a Peace or Truce with the* French *King,* (the prevention whereof muſt hitherto be acknowledged a ſingular effect of God's Goodneſs to us) *which if it ſhould happen, your Majeſty would be afterwards neceſſitated with fewer, perhaps with no Alliances or Aſſiſtance to withſtand the power of the* French *King, which hath ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully contended with ſo many, and ſo Potent Adverſaries; and whileſt he continues his overballancing Greatneſs, muſt always be dangerous to his Neighbours, ſince he would be able to oppreſs any one Confederate, before the reſt could get together, and be in ſo good a poſture of offending him as they now are, being joyntly engaged in a War. And if he ſhould be ſo ſucceſsful as to make a Peace, or diſ-unite the preſent Confederation againſt him, it is much to be feared, whether 't would be poſſible ever to re-unite it, at leaſt it would be a work of ſo much time and difficulty, as would leave your Majeſties Kingdoms expoſed to much miſery and danger.*

Having thus diſcharged our Duty, in laying before your Majeſty the Dangers threatning your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, and the onely Remedies we can think of, for the preventing, ſecuring, and quieting the minds of your Majeſties People, with ſome few of thoſe Reaſons which have moved us to this, and our former Addreſſes, on theſe Subjects. We moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take the matter to your ſerious Conſideration, and to take ſuch Reſolutions, as may not leave it in the power of any Neighbouring Prince, to rob your People of that happineſs which they enjoy, under your Majeſties gracious Government; beſeeching your Majeſty to reſt confident and aſſured, that when your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to declare ſuch Alliances in Parliament, We ſhall hold our ſelves obliged, not only by our Promiſes and Aſſurances given, and now with great Unanimity revived in a full Houſe, but by the Zeal and Deſires of thoſe whom we repreſent, and by the Intereſts of all our ſafeties, moſt chearfully to give your Majeſty from time to time ſuch ſpeedy Supplies, and Aſſiſtances, as may fully and plentifully anſwer the Occaſions, and by God's bleſſing preſerve your Majeſties Honour, and the ſafety of the People.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſties great Wiſdom.

Friday, May 25th. 1677.

Sir *John Trevor* Reported from the ſaid Committee the Addreſs, as 'twas drawn by them, which was read.

Whereupon it was moved to agree with the Committee; but before it was agreed to, there was a debate and diviſion of the Houſe.

It was obſerved and objected, That there was but one Reaſon given herein for declining the granting Money, and that is the Unpreſidentedneſs, and as to one of the Inſtances to this purpoſe

purpoſe mentioned, *viz.* the King's firſt *Dutch* War, it was ſaid to be miſtaken, for that the 2500000 *l.* was Voted before the War declared.

But it was anſwered, That if the Declaration was not before the grant of the Money, (which *Quare*) yet 'twas certain that the War it ſelf, and great Hoſtilities were before the Money; and ſome ſaid there might be other Reaſons aſſigned againſt giving Money before the Alliances: but they rather deſired to ſpare them, onely in general ſaid, *'Twas not reaſonable to grant Money before there was a Change* (they would not ſay of Counſellors but of Councels) *and an hearty undertaking theſe Alliances would be the beſt demonſtration of that Change. For the ſwerving from this Intereſt and Part, was the ſtep by which we went a-wry, and the returning thereto would reſtore us to our right place and way.*

And a Gentleman produced and read the King's Speech made *Monday* the 10th of *February*, 1667. wherein he ſpake chiefly of the League, which afterwards when the *Swede* came into it, was called the *Tripple League*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am glad to ſee you here again to tell you what I have done in this Intervall, which I am confident you will be pleaſed with, ſince it is ſo much to the Honour and ſecurity of the Nation. I have made a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the States of the United Provinces, *and likewiſe a League for an Efficacious Mediation of Peace between the Two* Crowns, *into which League that of* Sweden *by its Ambaſſador hath offered to enter as a Principal. I did not at Our laſt Meeting move you for any Aid, though I lye under great Debts contracted by the laſt War; but now the Poſture of Our Neighbours abroad, and the Conſequence of this new Alliance will oblige Me for Our Security to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet to* Sea *this Summer: and beſides, I muſt build more great Ships, and 'tis as neceſſary that I do ſomething in order to the fortifying ſome of Our Ports. I have begun My Self in order to theſe Ends, but if I have not your ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, I ſhall not be able to go thorow with it; wherefore I do earneſtly deſire you to take it into your ſpeedy Conſideration,* &c.

Which ſhews the proper courſe and practice, That Kings firſt communicate their Alliances made, before they demand Supplies upon the account of them.

So the Exception was let fall.

But the grand *Objection* managed againſt it, was upon the main Point of the Addreſs, wherein they deſired His Majeſty to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the *Dutch*, and ſuch other *Alliances* with the reſt as he ſhould think fit.

Thoſe who were againſt this Particular (or particularizing) in the Addreſs, ſpoke to this effect:

This is an Invaſion upon his Majeſtie's Prerogative of making Peace, War and Leagues, and it is the worſe for the Diſtinction that is uſed, in reſpect of the Dutch *and the reſt; by which you giving him expreſs Directions as to the* Dutch, *and referring to his Diſcretion as to the others, it looks and gives an* Umbrage *as if what he was to do, was by your Leave.*

The Antient Land-mark, the Boundaries between King and People muſt not be removed; This Power is one of the few things reſerved entirely to the Crown. Parliaments are ſummoned to treat de Arduis; *but He,* de quibuſdam Arduis, *this is unprecedented.*

The Marriages of the Royal Family is ſuch a peculiar thing reſerved to the King, and the matter of the Lady Arrabella *is an Inſtance. Queen* Elizabeth *reſented it high, that the Parliament ſhould propound her marrying; and ſhe ſaid, That however it is well they did not name the Perſon; if they had named the Perſon, it had been intolerable: now here you name the Perſon whom you would have the King Ally.*

If you may go ſo far, you may come to draw a Treaty, and propoſe to the King to ſign it. By this you would put a great Indecorum *upon the King; he is now concerned as a Mediator at* Nimmegen, *and it would be an indecent thing for him at the ſame time to declare himſelf a party. It is believed the Houſe of* Auſtria (*though they ſent full powers to* Nimmegen, *for the purpoſe, yet*) *never intended to conclude a*

Peace.

Peace. But it was an abſurd thing for them to declare ſo in Publick; There muſt be publick decorum.

This is the way for the King to have the worſe bargain with the Confederates; for they obſerving how he is importuned, and as it were driven to make theſe Alliances, *will ſlacken and leſſen thoſe advantagious Offers, which otherwiſe they would be forced to make.*

And again and again, they ſaid *His Majeſty did agree with this Houſe in the End, and they did not doubt but he would proſecute it by the ſame Means as was deſired. But his Prerogative was not to be incroach't upon. This manner of proceeding would never obtain with the King; nay, it would make the Addreſs miſcarry with the King.*

On the other Side, ſeveral ſpoke to this effect:

We ought to conſider, we are upon the Queſtion of agreeing an Addreſs drawn by our Committee, by our Order.

If they have not in matter and manner correſponded with our direction or intention, we have cauſe to diſagree. But here the Exception taken, and Cauſe preſſed why we ſhould not agree with them, is, becauſe they have obſerved the very words and ſubſtance of our Order, which exactly juſtifieth this Draught.

This paſſed on *Wedneſday*, upon a full Debate, in a very full Houſe, two only contradicting, but not one ſpeaking or thinking the *King's Prerogative* was touch't; and therefore it's ſtrange it ſhould be made the great *Objection* and *Queſtion of this day.*

But the Prerogative *is not at all intrench'd upon; We do not, nor do pretend to Treat or make Alliances, we only offer our Advice about them, and leave it with the* King, *he may do as he pleaſeth, either make or not make them. It is no more than other perſons may do to the* King; *for doubtleſs the Privy Council may Adviſe him in this particular, and why not his Great Council? This rate of diſcourſe would make the* King's Prerogative *conſiſt meerly in not being Adviſed by his Parliament (of all People.)*

There are manifold Precedents of ſuch Advices: Leagues have been made by Advice of Parliament, and have been ratified in Parliament: In Edw. 3. Rich. 2. *and eſpecially in* Henry *the* Fifth's *time, and particularly with* Sigiſmond *the* Emperour *and King of the* Romans; *and* Henry *the* Fifth *was a Magnanimous Prince, and not to be Impoſed upon.*

18 Jac. *The Parliament Adviſed the* King *about making and managing a War,* Ruſhw. Coll. 36, 41, 42, 45, 46. *And we may well remember our own Adviſing the firſt* Dutch *War; and making Leagues is leſs than War.*

But if there was no Precedent in this particular Caſe, it was no Objection; *for matter of Advice is not to be circumſcribed by Precedent. If there be a new Caſe that a Prince ſhould joyn in a War, together with another Prince, when that Prince was too Potent before, and that when this was diſcerned, and a Peace made, yet Succors ſhould continually go out of the firſt Prince's Dominions to the Service of the other Prince (and that notwithſtanding ſeveral* Addreſſes *and* Advices *to the contrary.)*

'Tis true, (as Objected) *that the Commons have ſometimes declined Adviſing in the matter of War, &c. propoſed to them. But that ſhews not their want of Right to meddle therewith, but rather the contrary. The very truth is, it has been the Deſire and Endeavour of Kings in all Ages, to engage their Parliaments in Adviſing War, &c. That ſo they might be obliged to Supply the King to the utmoſt for and through it; but they, out of a Prudent Caution have ſometimes waved the matter, leſt they ſhould engage further or deeper than they were aware or willing.*

Since his Majeſty is Treating as Mediator at Nimmegen, *about the general Peace, it is a great Reaſon why he ſhould ſpecifie the* Alliances *deſired as we have done, that we might make it known; We are far from deſiring ſuch* Alliances *as might be made by and with a general Peace: but on the contrary coveting ſuch as might prevent and ſecure us againſt that Dangerous and Formidable Peace.*

Doubtleſs

Doubtleſs the Confederates will offer Honourable and Worthy Terms; Their Neceſſity is too great to boggle or take advantages: nor will they think this League the leſs worth becauſe we Adviſe it, but rather value it the more, becauſe it is done unanimouſly by the King with the Advice and Applauſe of his People in Parliament.

We cannot ſuppoſe that our proceeding thus to his Majeſty will prejudice our Addreſs, or endanger its miſcarriage, ſince it is for his Majeſties Advantage, in that it obliges us to Supply him to all degrees through this Affair; and the more particular it is, the more ſtill for the King's advantage; for if it had been more general, and the King thereupon had made Alliances, *whatever they were, men might have thought and ſaid they were not the* Alliances *intended, and it might be uſed as an excuſe or reaſon for their not giving Money to Supply his Majeſty hereafter; but this as it is now, doth moſt expreſly, ſtrictly and particularly bind us up.* Ruſh. Coll. 171, 172, 177, 178.

We reflect that a great deal of time (and precious time) has been ſpent ſince and in our Addreſs on this Subject, and finding no effectual fruit, eſpecially of our laſt Addreſs, *as we have cauſe to apprehend we are not clearly underſtood in what we mean. Now it is the ordinary way of purſuing Diſcourſe in ſuch Caſe, and it is Proper and Natural for us to ſpeak (out) more explicitely and particularly, and tell his Majeſty, That what we have meant is a League Offenſive and Defenſive: And to perſuade us again to Addreſs on, in more general Terms, as before, is to perſuade us, that as we have done nothing this Ten Weeks, ſo we ſhould do nothing ſtill.*

And ſince his Majeſty in his late Meſſage and laſt Speech, has been pleaſed to demand 600000 l. for anſwering the purpoſe of our Addreſſes, and aſſures us that the Money ſhall not be imployed to other Uſes than We would have it imployed, it is moſt ſeaſonable for us to declare plainly the Uſe and Purpoſe we intend, that ſo it may be concerted and clearly underſtood of all hands; and therefore it is well done to mention to his Majeſty theſe expreſs Alliances, we thinking no other Alliances worth the ſaid Sum; and we withal Promiſing and Undertaking, that his Majeſty ſhall have this and more for theſe Ends.

Nor have we any cauſe to apprehend that his Majeſty will take amiſs our Adviſing Leagues in this manner. We have preſented more than one Addreſs for Alliances againſt the Growth and Power of the French *King, and his Majeſty has received, admitted and anſwered them without any exception; and if we may Addreſs for* Alliances *againſt a particular Prince or State, Why not for* Alliances *with a particular Prince or State? It cannot be leſs regular or Parliamentary than the former.*

And moreover (though we know that punctual Precedents are on our ſides, beſides our Commiſſions by our Writs, to Treat de arduis, & urgentibus Regem, Statum, & Defenſionem Regni, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ concernentibus. *And beſides the King's general Intimations in his Printed Speech, yet) if it be ſaid to be a decent and proper thing to have his Majeſtie's Leave and Conſent, before we proceed on ſuch a matter, in ſuch a manner, as we now do, we ſay, That that in effect is, with us too; for conſider all our former Addreſſes, and his Majeſtie's Anſwers and Meſſages thereupon, and it will appear that his Majeſty has engaged and encouraged us too upon this Subject; and that which he expects and would have, is not to limit or check our Advice, but to Open and Enlarge our Gift. His Majeſty appears Content to be throughly Adviſed, provided he be Proportionably Furniſhed and Enabled with Money; which we being now ready to do, we clearly and concluſively preſent him our Advice, for the application of it.* To prevent thoſe Miſtakes and Diſtruſts which his Majeſty ſayes he finds ſome are ſo ready to make, as if he had called us together only to get Money from us, or for other Uſes than we would have it imployed.

And truly the Adviſing theſe Alliances, *together with Aſſuring his Majeſty thereupon to Aſſiſt and Supply him preſently, and Plentifully to proſecute the ſame, is our only way of Complying and Correſponding with his laſt Speech. For thoſe Leagues followed and ſupported by theſe Supplies, are the only Means and Methods to put his Majeſty in the* beſt Condition, both to Defend his Subjects, and Offend his Enemies: *and ſo there will be* no fault in his Majeſty nor Us, but His and Our Security will be ſufficiently provided for.

Beſides, it will be worſe, it will be a very bad thing indeed not to make the Addreſs for this particular League, now, ſince we have reſolved it already. Our intention being to have the Dutch *&c. comforted, encouraged and aſſured, we did order this on* Wedneſday, *and there is publick Notice taken of it abroad, and beyond Sea. If we ſhould now upon ſolemn Debate ſet the ſame aſide, it would beget a great doubt, diſcomfort, and diſcouragement to them. It is one thing never to have ordered it; another, to retract it.*

Alſo it was ſaid, *That this was neceſſary, but was not all that was neceſſary; for ſuppoſe (which was not credible) that* France *ſhould be prevailed with to deliver up all* Lorrain, Flanders, Alſatia, *and other Conquered Places: Are we ſafe? No, He has too many Hands, too much Money, and this Money is in great meaſure (a Million* Sterling *yearly at leaſt) ſupplied him from hence. We muſt depreſs him by Force as far as may be, but further we muſt have Leagues and Laws to impoveriſh him,* We muſt deſtroy the *French* Trade. *This would quiet and ſecure us, this would make our Lands riſe, and this would enable us to ſet the King at Eaſe.*

After this long Debate the Houſe came to the Queſtion, Whether this Particular of a *League Offenſive and Defenſive with the Dutch*, ſhould be left out of the Addreſs? upon which Queſtion, the Houſe divided.

Teas 142. *Noes* 182.

So that it was carried by *Forty* that it ſhould ſtand.

Then the main Queſtion was put for agreeing, with their Committee, this Addreſs: which which paſſed in the Affirmative without Diviſion of the Houſe.

Then it was Ordered, That thoſe Members of the Houſe who were of his Majeſtie's Privy Councel, ſhould move his Majeſty to know his Pleaſure, when the Houſe might wait upon him with their Addreſs.

Mr. *Powle* Reported from the Committee, Amendments to the Bill for Recalling his Majeſtie's Subjects out of the *French King*'s Service, which were Read and Agreed to by the Houſe, and the Bill with the Amendments Ordered to be Ingroſſed.

And then the Houſe Adjourned to the morrow.

Saturday, May 26. 1677. in the morn.

The Houſe being ſate had notice by Secretary *Coventry*, That the King would receive their Addreſs at three in the Afternoon.

The Bill for Recalling his Majeſtie's Subjects, *&c.* being then Ingroſſed, was Read the third time and Paſſed; The effect of the Bill in ſhort was this.

That all and every of the Natural born Subjects of his Majeſty, who ſhould continue or be, after the firſt of *Auguſt* next, in the Military Service of the *French* King, ſhould be diſabled to inherit any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, and be uncapable of any Gift, Grant or Legacy, or to be Executor or Adminiſtrator; and being convicted, ſhould be adjudged guilty of *Felony*, without benefit of the Clergy, and not pardonable by His Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, except only by Act of Parliament, wherein ſuch Offenders ſhould be particularly named.

The like appointment for ſuch as ſhould continue in the Sea-ſervice, of the *French* King, after the firſt of *May*, 1678.

This Act as to the prohibiting the offence, and incurring the penalties, to continue but for two years, but the executing and proceeding upon it for Offences againſt the Act, might be at any time, aſwell after as within the two years.

Then it was Ordered, that Mr. *Powle* ſhould carry up this Bill to the Lords, and withal ſhould put the Lords in mind, of a Bill for *The better ſuppreſſing the growth of Popery*, which they had ſent up to their Lordſhips before *Eaſter*, which was forthwith done accordingly.

As ſoon as this was ordered, ſeveral other Bills were moved for to be Read, *&c.* But the Members generally ſaid, *No. They would proceed on nothing but the French and Popery.* So they Adjourned to the Afternoon, when they attended the King with their Addreſs, at the Banqueting Houſe in *White-Hall*. Which being preſented, The King Anſwered, That it was long and of great importance, that he would conſider of it, and give them an Anſwer as ſoon as he could.

The Houſe did nothing elſe but Adjourn till *Monday* morn.

Monday,

Monday, May 28, 1677.

The Houſe being ſate, they received notice by Secretary *Coventry*, that the King expected them immediately at the *Banqueting-Houſe*.

Whither being come, The King made a Speech to them on the Subject of their Addreſs. Which Speech to prevent miſtakes, his Majeſty read out of his Paper, and then delivered the ſame to the Speaker. And his Majeſty added a few words about their *Adjournment*.

The King's Speech is as followeth;

Gentlemen,

COuld I have been Silent, I would rather have choſen to be ſo, than to call to mind things ſo unfit for you to meddle with, as are contained in ſome parts of your laſt Addreſſes, wherein you have entrenched upon ſo undoubted a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Prerogative of making Peace and War hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded.

You do not content your ſelves with deſiring Me to enter into ſuch Leagues, as may be for the Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell Me what ſort of Leagues they muſt be, and with whom; (and as your Addreſs is worded) it is more liable to be underſtood to be by your Leave, then at your Requeſt, that I ſhould make ſuch other Alliances, as I pleaſe, with other of the Confederates.

Should I ſuffer this Fundamental Power of making Peace and War to be ſo far invaded (though but once) as to have the Manner and Circumſtances of Leagues preſcribed to Me by Parliament, *it's plain that no Prince or State would any longer believe that the Soveraignty of* England *reſts in the Crown; Nor could I think My Self to ſignifie any more to Foreign Princes, than the empty Sound of a King. Wherefore you may reſt aſſured, that no Condition ſhall make Me depart from, or leſſen ſo Eſſential a part of the Monarchy. And I am willing to believe ſo well of this Houſe of* Commons, *that I am confident theſe ill Conſequences are not intended by you.*

Theſe are in ſhort the Reaſons why I can by no means approve of your Addreſs, and yet though you have declined to grant Me that Supply which is neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, That as I have done all that lay in my power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I will ſtill apply My Self by all the Means I can, to let the World ſee My Care both for the Security and Satisfaction of My People, although it may not be with thoſe Advantages to them, which by your Aſſiſtances I might have procured.

And having ſaid this, he ſignified to them that they ſhould Adjourn till the 16th. of *July*.

Upon hearing of this Speech read, the Houſe is ſaid to have been greatly appalled, both in that they were ſo ſeverely Checked in his Majeſtie's name, from whom they had been uſed to receive ſo conſtant Teſtimonies of his Royal Bounty and Affection, which they thought they had deſerved, as alſo, becauſe there are ſo many Old and freſh Precedents, of the ſame Nature; and if there had not, yet they were led into this by all the ſtepps of Neceſſity, in duty to his Majeſty and the Nation. And ſeveral of them offering therefore modeſtly to have ſpoken, they were interrupted continually by the Speaker, contelling that after the King's pleaſure ſignified for Adjournment, there was no further Liberty of ſpeaking. And yet it is certain, that at the ſame time in the Lords Houſe, the Adjournment was in the uſual forme, and upon the Queſtion firſt propounded to that Houſe, and allowed by them; All Adjournments (unleſs made by ſpecial Commiſſion under his Majeſtie's Broad Seal) being and having alwaies been ſo, an Act of the Houſes by their own Authority. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral of their Members requiring to be heard, the Speaker had the confidence, without any Queſtion put, and of his own motion, to pronounce the Houſe Adjourned till the 16th. of *July*, and ſtept down in the middle of the floor, all the Houſe being aſtoniſhed at ſo unheard of a violation of their inherent Priviledge and Conſtitution. And that which more amazed them afterwards, was, That while none of their own Tranſactions or Addreſſes for the Publick Good are ſuffered to be Printed, but even all Written Copies of them with the ſame care as Libels ſuppreſſed; Yet they found this ſevere Speech publiſhed in the next days News-Book, to mark them out to their own, and all other Nations, as refractory diſobedient Perſons, that had loſt all reſpect to his Majeſty. Thus

were

were they well rewarded for their *Itch of Perpetual Sitting*, and of *Acting*; the *Parliament* being grown to that height of Contempt, as to be *Gazetted* among Run-away Servants, Loſt Doggs, Strayed Horſes, and High-way-Robbers.

In this manner was the Second Meeting of this, whether *Convention* or *Parliament*, concluded; But by what Name ſoever it is lawful to call them, or how irregular they were in other things, yet it muſt be confeſſed, That this Houſe or Barn of Commons, deſerved commendations for having ſo far prevented the Eſtabliſhment of Popery, by rejecting the Conſpirators two Bills; Intituled,

1. *An Act for further ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion by Educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; And for the providing for the Continuance of a Proteſtant Clergy.*

2. *An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants.* And for having in ſo many Addreſſes applyed againſt the *French* Power and Progreſs; And their Debates before recited upon this latter ſubject, do ſufficiently ſhow, that there are men of great parts among them, who underſtand the Intereſt of the Nation, and as long as it is for their purpoſe, can proſecute it.

For who would not commend Chaſtity, and rail againſt Whoring, while his Rival injoyes his Miſtreſs?

But on the other ſide that poor deſire of Perpetuating to themſelves thoſe advantages which they have ſwallowed, or do yet gape for, renders them ſo Abject, that they are become a meer property to the Conſpirators, and muſt, in order to their continuance, do and ſuffer ſuch things, ſo much below and contrary to the ſpirit of the Nation, that any honeſt man would ſwear that they were no more an *Engliſh* Houſe of Parliament. And by this weakneſs of theirs it was, that the Houſe of Peers alſo (as it is in contiguous Buildings) yielded and gave way ſo far even to the ſhaking of the Government. For had the Commons ſtood firm, it had been impoſſible that ever two men, ſuch as the Black and White Lords, *Treriſe* and *Frechwell*, though of ſo vaſt Fortunes, extraordinary Underſtanding, and ſo proportionable Courage, ſhould but for ſpeaking againſt their ſenſe have committed the Four Lords, (not much their inferiours) and thereby brought the whole Peerage of *England* under their vaſſalage.

They met again at the Day appointed, the 16. of *July*, The ſuppoſed Houſe of Commons were ſo well appayed, and found themſelves at ſuch eaſe, under the Protection of theſe frequent Adjournments, which ſeemed alſo further to confirm their Title to Parliament, that they quite forgot how they had been Outlawed in the *Gazette*, or if any ſenſe of it remained, there was no opportunity to diſcover it. For his Majeſty having ſignified by Mr. Secretary *Coventry* his Pleaſure, that there ſhould be a further *Adjournment*, their Mr. *Seymour* (the Speaker deceaſed) would not ſuffer any man to proceed; But an Honourable Member requiring modeſtly to have the Order read, by which they were before Adjourned, he Interrupted him and the Seconder of that Motion. For he had at the laſt Meeting gained one Precedent of his own making for Adjourning the Houſe, without queſtion, by his own Authority, and was loath to have it diſcontinued; ſo that without any more ado, like an infallible Judge, and who had the power over Councils, he declared, *Ex Cathedra*, that they were Adjourned till the third of *December* next. And in the ſame moment ſtampt down on the floor, and went forth (trampling upon, and treading under foot, I had almoſt ſaid, the Privileges and Uſage of Parliament, but however) without ſhewing that decent reſpect which is due to a multitude in Order, and to whom he was a *Menial Servant*.

In the mean time the four Lords lay all this while in the *Tower*, looking perhaps to have been ſet free, at leaſt of Courſe by Prorogation. And there was the more reaſon to have expected one, becauſe the Corn Clauſe which deducted *Communibus Annis*, 55000 *l.* out of the King's Cuſtomes, was by the Act of Parliament to have expired.

But theſe frequent Adjournments left no place for Divination, but that they muſt rather have been calculated to give the *French* more ſcope for perfecting their Conqueſts, or to keep the Lords cloſer, till the Conſpirators Deſigns were accompliſhed; and it is leſs probable that one of theſe were falſe, than that both were the true Cauſes. So that the Lords, if they had been taken in War, might have been Ranſomed cheaper than they were Impriſoned. When therefore after ſo long Patience, they ſaw no end of their Captivity, they begun to think that the procuring of their Liberty deſerved almoſt the ſame Care which others took to continue them in Durance; and each of them choſe the Method he thought moſt adviſable.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* having addreſſed in vain for his Majeſtie's Favour, reſorted by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's Bench*, the conſtant Reſidence of his Juſtice. But the Judges were more true to their Patents than their Juriſdiction, and remanded him, Sir *Thomas Jones* having done him double Juſtice, anſwering both for himſelf and his Brother *Twiſden*, that was abſent and had never heard any Argument in the Caſe.

The Duke of *Bukingham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, had better Fortune than he, in recurring to his Majeſty by a Petition, upon which they were enlarged, making

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uſe of an honourable Evaſion, where no Legal Reparation could be hoped for. Ingrateful Perſons may cenſure them for enduring no more, not conſidering how much they had ſuffered. But it is Honour enough for them to have been Confeſſors; nor as yet is the Earl of *Shaftſbury* a Martyr for the *Engliſh* Liberties and the Proteſtant Religion, but may ſtill live to the Envy of thoſe that malign him for his Conſtancy.

There remains now only to relate, That before the meeting appointed for the Third of *December*, his Majeſtie's Proclamation was Iſſued, ſignifying that he expected not the Members attendance, but that thoſe of them about Town may *Adjourn Themſelves* till the Fourth of *April*, 1678. Wherein it ſeemed not ſo ſtrange, becauſe often done before, as unfortunate that the *French* ſhould ſtill have ſo much further leiſure allowed him to compleat his deſign upon *Flanders*, before the Nation ſhould have the laſt opportunity of interpoſing their Counſels with his Majeſty (it cannot now be ſaid) to prevent it. But theſe words that the Houſe *may Adjourn themſelves*, were very well received by thoſe of the Commons who imagined themſelves thereby reſtored to their Right, after Maſter *Seymour's* Invaſion; When in reverſal of this, he probably deſiring to retain a Juriſdiction, that he had twice uſurped; and to add this Flower to the Crown, of his own planting, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* delivered a written Meſſage from his Majeſty on the 3d. of *December*, of a contrary effect, though not of the ſame validity with the Proclamation, to wit, That the Houſes *ſhould be Adjourned* only to the 15. of *January*, 1677. Which as ſoon as read, Mr. *Seymour* would not give leave to a Worthy Member offering to ſpeak, but abruptly, now the third time of his own authority, Adjourned them, without putting the Queſtion: Although Sir *John Finch*, for once doing ſo in *Tertio Caroli*, was Accuſed of High Treaſon; This only can be ſaid, perhaps in his Excuſe, That whereas that in *Tertio Caroli* was a Parliament Legally Conſtituted, Mr. *Seymour* did here do as a Sheriff that diſperſes a Riotous Aſſembly. In this manner they were kicht from Adjournment to Adjournment, as from one ſtair down to another, and when they were at the bottom kickt up again, having no mind yet to *Go out of Doors*.

And here it is time to fix a Period, if not to them, yet to this Narrative. But if neither one Prorogation, againſt all the Laws in being, nor three Vicious Adjournments, againſt all Precedents, can Diſſolve them, this Parliament then is Immortal, they can ſubſiſt without his Majeſtie's Authority, and it is leſs dangerous to ſay with Captain *Elſdon*, ſo lately, *Si Rebellio eveneris in Regno, & non accedeat ſive contra vindictam tuæ Statûs, Non eſt Rebellio.*

Thus far hath the Conſpiracy againſt our Religion and Government been laid open, which if true, it was more than time that it ſhould be diſcovered; but if any thing therein have been falſly ſuggeſted, the diſproving of it in any Particular, will be a courteſie both to the Publick and to the Relator; who would be glad to have the World convinced of the contrary, tho to the prejudice of his own Reputation. But ſo far is it from this, that it is rather impoſſible for any obſerving man to read without making his own further Remarks of the ſame nature, and adding a Supplement of moſt paſſages which are here but imperfectly touch't. Yet ſome, perhaps, may *Object*, as if the Aſſiſtance given to *Reade* were all along *wantonly aggravated*, whereas there have been and are, conſiderable Numbers likewiſe of his Majeſtie's Subjects in the Service of *Holland*, which hath not been mentioned. But in Anſwer to that, It is well known through what difficulty and hardſhip they paſſed thither, eſcaping hence over, like ſo many Maletactors; and ſince they are there, ſuch care hath been taken to make them as ſerviceable as others to the Deſign, that of thoſe Three *Regiments*, two, if not the third alſo, have been new modelled under Popiſh Officers, and the Proteſtants diſplaced. Yet had the *Relator* made that voluntary Omiſſion in partiality to his Argument, he hath abundantly recompenced in ſparing ſo many Inſtances on the other ſide which made to his purpoſe; The abandoning his Majeſtie's own *Nephew* for ſo many years in compliance with His and our Nations Enemies, the further particulars of the *French* Depredations and Cruelties exerciſed at Sea upon his Majeſtie's *Subjects*, and to this day continued and tolerated without reparation; Their notorious Treacheries and Inſolencies, more eſpecially relating to his Majeſtie's Affairs. Theſe things abroad, which were capable of being illuſtrated by many former and freſh Examples. At home, the conſtant irregularities and injuſtice from Term to Term, of thoſe that adminiſter the Judicature betwixt his *Majeſty* and his *People*. The *Scrutiny* all over the Kingdom, to find out men of *Arbitrary Principles*, that will *Bow the knee to Baal*, in order to their Promotion to all Publick Commiſſions and Imployments; and the Diſgracing on the contrary and Diſplacing of ſuch as yet dare in ſo univerſal a depravation be honeſt and faithful in their Truſt and Offices. The defection of conſiderable perſons both *Male* and *Female* to the *Popiſh Religion*, as if they entred by Couples clean and unclean into the *Ark* of that Church, not more in order to their Salvation, than for their Temporal Safety. The ſtate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which would require a whole Volume to repreſent it. The tendency of all Affairs and Counſels in this Nation towards a *Revolution*. And (by the great Civility and Foreſight of his Holineſs) an *Engliſh* Cardinal now for ſeveral years prepared like Cardinal *Pool* to give us *Abſolution*, *Benediction*, and receive us into *Apoſtolical Obedience*.

It is now come to the Fourth Act, and the next Scene that opens may be *Rome* or *Paris*, yet men ſit by, like idle Spectators, and ſtill give Money towards their own *Tragedy*. It is true, that by his Majeſty and the Churches Care, under God's Special Providence, the Conſpiracy hath received frequent diſappointments. But it is here as in Gaming, where, tho the Cheat may loſe for a while, to the Skill or good Fortune of a fairer Player, and ſometimes on purpoſe to draw him in deeper, yet the falſe Dice muſt at the long run Carry it, unleſs diſcovered; and when it comes once to a great Stake, will Infallibly Sweep the Table.

If the *Relator* had extended all theſe Articles in their particular Inſtances, with ſeveral other Heads, which out of Reſpect he forbore to enumerate, it is evident there was matter ſufficient to have further accuſed his Subjects. And nevertheleſs, he foreſees that he ſhall on both hands be blamed for purſuing this method. Some on the one ſide will expect, that the very Perſons ſhould have been named; whereas he onely gives Evidence to the Fact, and leaves the Malefactors to thoſe who have the power of inquiry. It was his deſign indeed to give Information, but not to turn Informer. That theſe to whom he hath onely a publick enmity, no private animoſity, might have the privilege of Statſ-men, to repent at the laſt hour, and by one ſignal Action to expiate all their former miſdemeanours. But if any one delight in the Chaſe, he is an ill Woodman that knows not the ſize of the Beaſt by the proportion of his Excrement.

On the other hand, ſome will repreſent this diſcourſe (as they do all Books that tend to detect their Conſpiracy) againſt his Majeſty and the Kingdom, as if it too were written againſt the Government. For now of late, as ſoon as any man is gotten into publick imployment by ill Acts, and by worſe continues it, he, if it pleaſe the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be ſacred. Theſe are, themſelves, the Men who are Living Libels againſt the Government, and who (whereas the Law diſcharges the Prince upon his Miniſters) do, if in danger of being Queſtioned, plead or rather Impeach his Authority in their own Juſtification. Yea, ſo impudent is their ingratitude, that as they intitle him to their Crimes, ſo they arrogate to themſelves his Virtues, challenging whatſoever is well done, and is the pure emanation of his *Royal Goodneſs*, to have proceeded from their Influence. Objecting thereby his *Majeſty*, if it were poſſible, to the hatred and interpoſing as far as in them lies, betwixt the Love of his People. For being conſcious to themſelves how inconſiderable they would be under any good Government, but for their notorious wickedneſs, they have no other way of ſubſiſting, but by nouriſhing ſuſpitions betwixt a moſt Loyal People, and moſt Gracious Soveraign. But this Book, though of an extraordinary nature, as the caſe required, and however it may be calumniated by intereſſed perſons, was written with no other intent than of meer Fidelity and Service to his *Majeſty*, and God forbid that it ſhould have any other effect, than *That the mouth of all Iniquity and of Flatterers may be ſtopped*, and that his *Majeſty* having diſcerned the Diſeaſe, may with his Healing Touch apply the Remedy. For ſo far is the *Relator* himſelf from any Siniſter ſurmiſe of his Majeſty, or from ſuggeſting it to others, that he acknowledges, if it were fit for *Cæſar*'s Wife to be free, much more is *Cæſar* himſelf from all Crime and Suſpition. Let us therefore conclude with our own Common Devotions, *From all Privy Conſpiracy*, &c. *Good Lord deliver us.*

FINIS.

A LIST OF Several Ships Belonging to English Merchants

Taken by *Freneh Privateers*, ſince *December*, One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy and three.

ALSO,

A Brief ACCOUNT touching what Applications have been made for Redreſs, at the Council-Board, and with the Committee of Trade.

A LIST

OF

Several Ships

Belonging to

English Merchants

Taken by French Privateers, since December, One thousand six hundred seventy and three.

ALSO,

A Brief ACCOUNT touching what Applications have been made for Redress, at the Council-Board, and with the Committee of Trade.

At the Court at White-Hall, *the 4th of* Auguſt, 1676.

Preſent,

The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Trade did this Day preſent unto His Majeſty in Council, a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects did ſuſtain by the French Capers, *in the Words following.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THere was preſented unto your Majeſty in Council on the 31ſt. of *May* laſt, a Petition in the Name of all the Merchants of *London*, and other Places, concerned in the ſeveral Ships Taken by the *French Privateers*, and carried into ſeveral Ports of that Kingdom; And their Complaints conſiſted of the Points following.

1. That the Ship and Goods of your Subjects, though Manned according to the ACT of Navigation, and furniſhed with all neceſſary Paſſes, were daily ſeized and carried into *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, *Sherbrook*, and other Ports, the Maſters and Mariners kept cloſe Priſoners, to force them by hardſhip to abuſe their Owners, or elſe for Relief of their own Neceſſities (being commonly ſtripped and plundered) to enter into the Privateers ſervice, which great Numbers have done, with very pernitious Effects.

2. That the Delay and Charge of Proſecuting the Law in *France*, does commonly make the Owners to become Loſers of half the Value, when ever they are moſt Succeſsful.

3. That there is no Reparation ever gotten from Privateers, for what they plunder and imbezzle; which makes them freely ſeize upon all they meet, and perpetually moleſt the Navigation of your Subjects.

Wherefore, your Petitioners humbly imploring your Majeſtie's Protection and Relief, Your Majeſty was hereupon graciouſly pleaſed, out of a Sence of your Subjects ſufferings, to command that ſome Frigats ſhould ſail forth to clear the Coaſt of thoſe Privateers, to ſeize them, and bring ſuch as had offended to make Reſtitution. And your Majeſty did further Order, That the Committee of Trade, ſhould as well take notice of the particular Caſes and Complaints depending, that ſuch of them as were of *Weight* and *Merit*, might be fitted to Receive your moſt gracious Recommendation for Relief, as to Survey the whole Number of *Seizures*, which have been made on your Subjects, in Order to lay before your Majeſty what hardſhip hath been ſuſtained at Sea, and what ſort of Juſtice hath been adminiſtred in *France*; with their Opinions of what is fit to Adviſe your Majeſty therein.

In Obedience to which Command, we have hereunto annexed a Liſt of ſuch Ships as have been Seized, to the Number of 53. And the Caſes wherein the *Owners* have *repaired* unto your Majeſty, either in your Council, or by your *Secretary* of *State* for Relief. Which, as in the *General* it ſuppoſes a Juſtice in ſuch Complaints; ſo, it leaves a ſuſpicion of *Great Hardſhip* in the *Methods* of *Redreſs*. And the *Number* of *Captures* is no ſmall *Proof* of the *Facility* of *Condemnation*.

How many other helpleſs men there have been beſides the ſaid Caſes, who have not had Ability to *Proſecute*, or how many of theſe Caſes have been *favoured* with *Redreſs*, we cannot certainly underſtand, till the Information we have ſought for, come from *Paris*, which may alſo enable us to *Compleat* their *Circumſtances* of every *Caſe*.

But in the mean time, ſuch of all the Inſtances of Redreſs, as are come to our knowledg, we have not failed, in the *Margin*, to make mention of them, being in number Seven.

While we were in the mid'ſt of this Proſecution, Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, does on the Sixth inſtant, preſent unto the Committee a Paper, which he received from the *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *Courtin*, relating to theſe matters, and the Contents thereof were as follow.

An Extract of a Letter from Monſieur *Colbert* to Monſieur *d' Pompone*, written the 28*th.* of *June*, 1676.

FOR what concerns the Prizes, it would be a difficult matter to Anſwer to all the Caſes contained in Monſieur Courtin's *Letter; What I can ſay, is, That the Council for* Marine Affairs, *Sits every* Friday *at St.* Germans. *That all* Privateers *and* Reclaimers *know it.*

That Sir Ellis Leighton, *nominated by the* Engliſh *Embaſſador, hath alwayes notice of it, and is alwayes preſent at it.*

That not a Week paſſes, but I give him two or three Audiences, and oftentimes I ſend for him on purpoſe.

His Reaſons are all Reported, Read and Examined.

As likewiſe are all Petitions of Reclaimers; *and I ſhall tell you more, I acquaint him with the Reaſons upon which Judgment is given.*

In giving Judgment, all Veſſels which have any Appearance of being Engliſh, *are Releaſt, and very often, and almoſt alwayes, although we are ſatisfied that the Ships are* Dutch, *yet they are releaſed becauſe there is ſome appearance of their being* Engliſh; *And every thing is Judged favourably for that Nation: And it is true that all Ships that are taken are of* Dutch *built; That they never were in* England; *That the Maſters and all the Equipage are* Dutch; *That the Documents are for perſons unknown, and which are not oftentimes ſo much as named; That they carry with them onely ſome Sea Briefs from* Waterford *or ſome other Town of* Ireland *or* Scotland; *That the whole Ships Company Depoſes, they were ſent to* Holland; *That we have found on Board three or four Veſſels, Bills of Accompts, by which is ſeen the* Engliſh *take two, three and four,* Per Cent. *for owning of Ships; And although it is impoſſible to avoid Confiſcating them, yet theſe are the Ships which make ſuch a noiſe in* England.

In Anſwer to which *Remarques*; though it be true, that all reſpect imaginable ought to be given to what Miniſters of that Conſideration do pronounce, Yet there being ſome difference between them who feel the ſmart, and thoſe who feel it not; we ſhall inſiſt on ſome Particulars, that your Majeſty may diſcern whether your Subjects are ſo fortunate in their freedom of Trade at Sea, or in the helps of Juſtice when they are ſeized, as the Report and Information of the Letter would ſeem to make out. For as it magnifies the favour which is exerciſed in *France*, the facility in all Addreſſes, and the tenderneſs to relieve *Engliſh* men in all Complaints, ſo we cannot on this Subject but own to your Majeſty the very different Reſentments we have thereof; for we underſtand that when *Engliſh* Ships are brought into the *Ports* of *France*, many of the Mariners complaining of ill Treatment, and ſome of Torment, their Papers being ſeized and their Perſons in Reſtraint, till all Examinations are prepared, Then are all the Writings ſent up to the *Privy Council* at St. *Germans*, and there Judgment definitely given; Seldom are any of the Reaſons of Condemnation mentioned in the Decree, and never any Appeal or Reviſion admitted of (ſo at leaſt it was until the 20*th.* of *June* laſt.) And whether this be the Tenderneſs or the Juſtice which is mentioned, we do not know; but we are well aſſured, That the Methods of your Majeſtie's Clemency, and Juſtice on like occaſions, have been far otherwiſe. And we appeal to the preſent Embaſſador, Monſieur *Courtin*, if almoſt in all Caſes, that he or any other of the Ambaſſadors thought fit to own, (when his Excellency was here before, and your Majeſty in War with *Holland*, ſeizing many Ships as Prize, and under great ſuſpicion claimed by the *French*) whether it were not very cuſtomary, to have a ſhort Reference, and a ſummary Examination of all Papers by the Judge of the Admiralty in his Chamber; and that if any thing appeared fair in the Caſe, whether the Ships were not immediately Releaſed without Law, charge or delay? And 'twill not be out of ſeaſon, we hope, to annex hereunto the Copy of an Order of the 22*th.* of *July*, 1665, Signed by the then Lords Commiſſioners of Prizes, where it will appear, That *Eighteen French Ships* (which were Laden with Wine and Brandy) being at *Dover*, and detained as Prize, were all *Eighteen* by one Order diſcharged without any Law, or even the Ceremony of the Judges Examination, being ſingly on the Credit of the Ambaſſador's Word, affirming that they belonged unto the *French*.

And as for the matter of *Reviſions* or *Appeals*, after Sentence in the Court of Admiralty here; We know his Excellency will alſo remember, that never any man was denied his liberty therein;

in; but on the contrary, your Majeſty gave a ſtanding Commiſſion for Appeals in all Caſes of Prizes, and filled it with the Lords of your Council only, that every Caſe might receive a candid as well as unqueſtionable determination.

We might alſo put your Majeſty in mind, That during the whole term of your late League with *France*, when ever any *French* Ships were ſeized by the *Hollander*, and afterwards retaken by his Majeſtie's Frigats, ſuch *French* Ships were always reſtored on demand, no conſideration being had of the time they were in poſſeſſion with the *Hollander*, Whether a Month, two, or three, as ſometimes they were; and when the *French* Owner, as it hath happened, knew not of ſuch retaking, but that the Ship was according to Law, condemned to your Majeſty and ſold with other Prizes, yet the Claimer appearing, your Majeſty hath ordered the Money and product of the Ships to be reſtored unto him.

Such Various Methods of Juſtice and of Clemency, might have entituled your Majeſty to a different acknowledgment, and more advantageous effects.

As to the other part of the ſaid Paper, It ſeems to contain very harſh imputations on the Trade of your Majeſties Subjects, and from ſome ill practice perhaps found out (as every where there may be Inſtances of the like) General Rules are made, and ſevere Impreſſions taken, which having entred the thoughts of ſome Eminent Miniſters, we muſt not wonder (how frequent and how multiplied ſoever your Majeſties Recommendations for Juſtice are) that the Events of Tryals prove ſo unfortunate, If your Majeſty will but Vouchſafe to caſt your Eye on the Caſes here annext, You will ſoon ſee.

Whether (as is imputed) all the Ships taken are *Dutch* built?

Whether they are all ſuch as never were in *England*?

Whether all the Maſters and all the Mariners are *Dutch*?

Whether the Documents be for perſons unknown, and oftentimes not named?

Whether in the whole Liſt there be more then one Ship from *Waterford*, and but Six from the reſt of all *Ireland*; but from *Scotland* not ſo much as one?

Whether 'tis credible all the Ship's Company do ſwear they are ſent to *Holland*, when ſo many are taken even coming from *Holland*?

Your Majeſty may ſee how many Ships in the Liſt are *Engliſh* built taken with *Engliſh* Colours, *Engliſh Marriners*, *Engliſh* Owners, ſome of them known to your Majeſty, and to whom the beſt Papers your Majeſty or your Miniſters can ſign, or the Treaties do require, are given, but all in vain.

So that if the Caſe be in the General quite different from what in the General is repreſented, we hope it will be no Crime for your Majeſtie's Subjects to make ſome Noiſe in *England*, when they are hurt, and when they ſee their Goods taken from them by Violence, and that Violence rather Juſtified then Redreſt by Law.

'Tis not for the Condemnation paſt on thoſe very ill Caſes enumerated, that your Subjects do complain; for it were to their Advantage if all ſuch were Puniſhed and deterred from Trade, who by colluſion take ſhare in that Profit which the favour of the preſent Conjuncture ſeems wholly to appropriate to this Kingdom.

And ſurely your Majeſty and the whole Kingdom did reckon upon this advantage, and the Extent of Trade that would naturally flow in as one of the greateſt Fruits and Bleſſings of your Peace; ſo that your Majeſty being ſenſible of great decay and loſs of *Engliſh* Trading Ships in the late War, did think it adviſable to admit your Subjects to repair themſelves on the ſudden by purchaſing of forraign Ships, and your Majeſty by your Authority made them free, and fit to partake in the benefit of *Engliſh* Ships, to the diminution of thoſe higher Cuſtoms, which otherwiſe ſuch Ships were obliged to pay. And while your Subjects with theſe and with their own home-built Ships are in proſecution of the ſaid Advantages, while every man is invited by the Conjuncture to venture more and to inlarge his Trade, while by a general truſt in the Peace and Alliance your Majeſty holds with all your Neighbours round about; they are lead to go abroad unarmed and without defence, we cannot but lament it as a great misfortune and diſappointment to obſerve how theſe your Majeſties Subjects are frequently made a Prey of, and very evilly treated both at Sea and Land.

Wherefore

Wherefore conſidering that the Root of all this diſorder ariſes from the violence and rapine of the *French* Capers, who ought to be looked on as diſturbers of the publick Quiet, and Enemies to the good Friendſhip between the two Crowns; We are humbly of Opinion, That your Majeſty has juſt occaſion from the Injuries paſt, and thoſe which are now depending, and which do every day increaſe, to make a very ſerious repreſentation of all unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; And not only preſs for ſome better Method of Repairing the Grievances mentioned; But earneſtly to inſiſt on the calling in of all Privateers. Or elſe your Majeſty muſt do *Right*, and give *Defence* to your Subjects from all the *Inſolencies* which they ſo frequently meet;

All which is moſt Humbly ſubmitted.

Council Chamber,
31th. *July*, 1676.

Angleſey, *Finch*, C.
Bath, *Bridgwater*,
Craven, *H. Coventry*,
J. Ernle, *G. Cartret*.

Robert Southwell.

HIS Majeſty taking into his Serious Conſideration the daily Complaints of his Subjects, and having a great Sence and Reſentment of their ill Uſage, hath thought fit to approve the ſaid Report, and is therefore Graciouſly pleaſed to Order, as it's hereby Ordered, accordingly;

That the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, do immediately tranſmit to his Majeſtie's Embaſſadour at *Paris*, a Copy thereof, that ſo the evil and the unhappy ſtate of theſe things may be made known in that Court, and the Remedies preſſed for in his Majeſtie's Name; which are propoſed by the ſaid Report. And Maſter Secretary is alſo to attend the *French* Ambaſſador here, with the ſame Repreſentation, and to expoſtulate upon all theſe Hardſhips, and the little Remedy given to his Majeſtie's Subjects, either on the Merits of their Cauſes, or the Recommendations of them by his Majeſty. That ſo his Excellency being made ſenſible of his Majeſtie's Diſpleaſure herein, and the reaſonable Diſcontent of his Subjects, there may be, by his care, ſuch lively impreſſions hereof fixed with the King his Maſter, and the Miniſters of *France*, as may redreſs the Evils, that are complained of, and obtain the juſt Remedies which are propoſed.

Philip Lloyd.

A LIST of Several SHIPS belonging to *Engliſh Merchants*, Taken by *French Privateers*, ſince *December*, One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy and three.

ALSO

His MAJESTIE's Orders for Redreſs, bearing Date as followeth.

June 3d. 1674.

THE *Pellican* and *Hopewell*, two Ketches *Engliſh* built, Maſters and Mariners all *Engliſh*, Laden at *London*, by Merchants of the Place, all *Engliſh* and their Owners, Bound to *Bilbo*, and conſigned to their own Factors. They were taken at their entring to *Bilbo*, by *Le Moine* a Privateer, Commander of the *Renown*, and carried to *Creſwick*.

November 4th. 1674.

The *Lady* of *Virginia* and Saint *Joſeph*, a *Spaniſh* built Ship, bought by *Mr. Tyte* and Mr. *Hutchins*, both *Engliſh-men*, in 1673, when his Majeſty did tolerate a Trade with foreign Ships and Marmers; and upon the Breach betwixt *France* and *Spain*, this Property was notified at the Admiralty-Office at *Bayon*, and at the General Office of Marine at *Paris*. She was Laden in the *Canaries* by Sir *Arthur Ingram* Knight, and *Richard Owen*, now *Engliſh* Conſul there, with Wines, to the Value of 1050 *l.* at firſt Coſt; She was taken in *December* 1673, near the mouth of the Channel, by *John de la Roche, de Fontaine*, carried by him to the *Weſt-Indies*, and not heard of in a Year.

May 19th. 1675.

The *John* and *Sarah*, of 120 Tun, *Engliſh* Built, *William Button* Maſter, he and his Mariners *Engliſh*, *Abraham* and *Francis Jaggard Engliſh* Owners of the Ship, Laden with Wooll at *Bilbo* for account of *George Baron* of *London*, and *Robert Hutchins* of *Exeter*; She was in her Courſe to *Hamborough*, whither ſhe was bound, and the Goods conſign'd, ſeized in the Bay of *Biſcay*, on the 4th. of *October*, 1674, and by *Michael Gauvaine* a Privateer of *Porto Lewis*, carried into *Rochel*, where notwithſtanding her Cockets and Bills of Lading, ſhe was Condemned for want of a Sea-Brief.

November 20th, 1674.

The *Oake*, *John Symmonds* Owner, Sir *John Frederick* and other *Engliſh-men* Laders; They had Cockets and Bills of Lading, but ſeized and carried in and about the ſame time, for want of a Sea-Brief.

Novemb. 20th. 1674.

The *Orange Tree*, *Andrew Squaſh* and Co-partners, Laders and Owners, taken about the ſame time, and carried in, having all Papers neceſſary, except a Sea-Brief.

Jan 27th. 1674.

The *Great Duke of Tuſcany*, an *Italian* Ship, Laden with 4000 *Holland* Cheeſes, upon the account of *William Welch*, Merchant of *London*, to be ſent to *Rochel*, is ſeized on in *Torbay*, by a *French* Caper, and carried to *Creſwick*.

March 29th, 1675.

The *Poſtilion* of *Cadiz*, a *Dutch* Ship, *John Simpſon* Maſter, being run into *Torbay*, and within half a Harſer's length of the ſhore is ſeized on by Boats ſent from the Ships of ſome *French* Men of War, and particularly the *Chevalier de Reynold*.

March 3d. 1675.

His Majeſtie's *Pacquet-Boat* is by *Anthony Vander Tyden*, a Caper of *Dunkirk*, plundred of Jewels as ſhe was paſſing into *Holland*.

August 4th. 1675.

The *Unity*, 250 Tuns, *John Shipey* Maſter, wholly mann'd with his Majeſties Subjects, provided with all Paſſes and Teſtimonials, by the Treaty required, and belonging to *William Welch* Merchant, of *London*, is in her courſe from *Lisbon* to *Rotterdam*, ſeized by two *French* Capers, and carried into Saint *Malloes*.

September 28th. 1675.

The *Golden Sun* of *Bremen*. Burthen 190 Tuns, *Egbert Coſter* Maſter, richly laden with Drapery and *Engliſh* Manufactures, by *Edward Smith*, and a great number of other Merchants of *London*, as by Bill of Lading, and Depoſitions taken before the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations appeared, ſhe was in her Courſe from *London* to *Hamburgh*, in *September*, 1675. taken by a *French* Privateer, carried to *Dunkirk* and condemned, though *Bremen* be under the protection of the *Swede*. The parties appearing before the Lords of the Committee, ſwore the Principal coſts of their Goods was to the Value of 3092 l.

September 28th. 1675.

Content of *Yarmouth*, *Engliſh* built, *Robert Williams* Maſter, and half Owner, manned with his Majeſties Subjects, and provided with Paſſes. The other half, and the whole of the Lading, belonging to *Simon Francia*, who is naturalized. As the Ship was ſayling from *Rotterdam* to *Falmouth*, and ſo in her Courſe to the *Canaries*, is ſeized in *September* laſt, by a *French* Privateer, carried into *Calais*, the Goods condemned, and the Ship reſtored, yet the *Maſter* ſwears his loſſes amount to 996 l. 8 s. and 6 d. And the ſaid *Francis* his unto 3975 l. 2 s. 3 d.

December 1ſt. 1675.

Elizabeth of *London*, *John Job* Maſter, manned according to the Act of Navigation, *Francis Terence* an *Engliſh* Man the Owner, and he, with others of his Majeſties Subjects, Proprietors of the Lading, in her Courſe from *Rochel* to *Rotterdam*, is ſeized and carried into *Calais*.

October 17th. 1675.

The *Contents* of *Briſtol*, *Walter Hide* Maſter, *James Whitwood* Owner, bound from *Briſtol* to *France*, was near *Uſhen* in *November* 1673. run wilfully under Water, by the *Chevalier de Betune*, in the Ship *L' Oriflam*, the Maſter and Mariners ſwear that they ſaved themſelves in the Portholes and Ladders of the *French* Ship, had no help from the *French* to ſave them, but being on board, for a moneth, were groſsly abuſed, The loſs upon Oath, amounted unto 1100 l.

January 30th. 1675.

The *James* of *Dover*, bound for *Bilboa*; *Anthony Andrews* Maſter, *Nicholas Cullen* of *Dover*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants are Owners. The Ship is taken by the *French* Privateer out of *Ter-Bay*, and carried into St. *Maloes*. Reſtored.

February 23d. 1676.

The *John* and *Elizabeth*, *Engliſh* built, *Thomas Riſing* Maſter, and part-Owner, the Mariners all *Engliſh*, *John Smith*, *Edmund Smith* of *Rye*, and the Maſter, all Subjects of his Majeſty, Owners of the *Cargoe*: She was in her Courſe from *Rye* to *Rotterdam*, in *December* 1675. ſeized within *Piſtol* Shot of *Dover Peer*, by *Nicholas Bottel*, a *French*, Caper, the Maſter much abuſed, and one of the Men ſhot through the Body, for no other reaſon then not ſtriking the Top-ſail, as the Caper hath been examined by the Judge of the Admiralty, in *March* laſt.

February 23d. 1675.

The *Reſolution* Frigat, *Engliſh* built, *John Aden* Maſter, belonging to *James Littleton* and *Edward Nelford* of *London* Merchants, ſhe was bound from *Bilboa* to *Amſterdam*, Laden with Wool and Iron, for the Sole accounts of the King's Subjects. She had her Paſs and Bills of Lading, yet ſeized by two Privateers and carried into *Dunkirk*. Reſtor d.

March

March. 3. 1675.

The *Society* of *Boston*, *Thomas Edwards* Maſter, Laden with Proviſions by *Edward Sanders* of *London* Merchant, in her Courſe from *New England* to *Jamaica*, is ſeized by *Mounſieur Oſſerune* Governour of the *French Tartigas*, and the Proviſions taken out.

March 8th. 1675.

The *Catharine* Galliot, *Adrian Chapmotts* Maſter, *Henry de Wild* Owners, his Majeſties Subjects, Notwithſtanding a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty, ſhe is in her Courſe from *Yarmouth*, at *Roan* taken, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

April 7th. 1676.

The *New Exchange*, *Walter Peace* Maſter, *Will. York*, *Henry Glover* and other Merchants of *Lymerick*, his Majeſties Subjects Owners of Ship and Goods; ſhe had Paſſes in due Forme on Board, as alſo an Order from the Court of *France* for her releaſe upon a former Capture, by a Privateer of *Calais*, but is taken by *Charles Landſchooter* of *Dunkirk*, and there condemned as Prize.

April 19th. 1676.

The *Abraham* of *London*, *John Peterſemperts* Maſter, *Thomas Ball* of *London* Merchant is Owner, as appeared by Bill of Sale, ſhe had a Paſs, and yet in her Voyage from *Zealand* to *England* was carried into *Dunkirk*.

April 28th. 1676.

The *Green Dragon*, *James White* Maſter, being Laden at *Lymerick* with Beef, Butter, Tallow, Salted-Hides, and other Commodities of the Country, and bound for *Oſtend*, was on the 15th. of *April* laſt ſeized by Captain *Fury*, and carried into *Cherbrook* Road; all the Ships papers taken away, and the Maſter and Mariners forced, by torture, to ſign a Paper, acknowledging that the Ship belonged to *Oſtend*, though ſhe belongs to *Patrick Rochford* of *Lymerick*, Merchant; and had all neceſſary Sea-briefs and Paſſes, and the Lading belongs to Sir *John Frederick* and others; all his Majeſties Subjects. The Maſter and three fourths of the Mariners were his Majeſties Subjects.

May 19th. and *June* 30th. 1676.

The *Elizabeth* of *London*, *Engliſh* built, burthen about 80 Tuns, *John Ranger* Maſter; manned with *Engliſh* men, having a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty, and a Port-Paſs from *Dover*, being laden with Merchandiſes at the *Terceraes*, partly on the account of *Abraham Chapman* of *London* Merchant, and the reſt for *Engliſh* and *Portugeſes*, and bound for *Amſterdam*, was ſeized by the *Chevalier de Beaumont*, a *French* Caper, on the 14th. of May; near *Portland*, and carried into *Cherbourg*, where the Maſter hath been ill uſed, and the Ship and Goods threatned to be confiſcated.

May 5th. 1676.

The *Saint John*, *John Smith-John* Maſter; Laden with Wine, Brandy and Rozen; coming from *Bardeaux* to *England*, was ſeized by *James Swan*, his Majeſties Subject, ſerving by *French* Commiſſion, and carried into *Dunkirk*; Notwithſtanding the Ship and Lading did belong to the Lord *Bellaſis*, and other his Majeſties Subjects. Reſtored.

May 5th. 1676.

The *Nicholas* of *Dover*, *Nicholas Bernard* Maſter; Laden with Barley at *Marenes* in *France*, by *John Callens* of *Roebel* for account of *Engliſh*, Who afterwards entred the ſaid Barley in the Cuſtom-Houſe there, as bound for *Middleburg*, where it was conſigned to an *Engliſhman*, he paid the Duties and made Oath that no Prohibition was there given againſt Tranſporting Corn into an enemies Country; Yet, on this Pretence, was the ſaid Ship, in the Courſe of her Voyage, taken and carried in *Calais*. Reſtored.

May

May 5*th.* 1676.

The *Suſanna* of *London*, *Cornelius Carieu* Maſter, *William Welch* of *London* Merchant, ſole Owner, Laden with 44 Cheſts of Sugar, with 24 Pipes of Pickled Lemons, beſides other goods which belonged to the Subjects of *Portugal*; ſhe had all neceſſary Paſſes and Sea Letters as well from the Lords of the Admiralty, as the Town whence ſhe ſet out; ſhe was in her Voyage from *Lisbon* to *Rotterdam*, taken by *David Brizon* his Majeſties Subject, ſailing by *French* Commiſſion, and carried into *Bulloigne*.

May 19*th.* 1676.

The *Peace* of *Dublin* (Burthen 150 Tuns) *Paul Hayes* Maſter, *William Williamſon*, *William Martin*, and *Samuel Martin* of *Dublin*, all Subjects of his Majeſty and Owners; In her Voyage from *Amſterdam* to *Burdeaux* ſhe is, on the firſt of *April*, ſeized near *Dover* Caſtle, and notwithſtanding her Paſſes, and all other neceſſary Papers, was carried into *Calais*.

May 26*th* 1676.

The *William* of *London*, *John Cornelioſon* Maſter, a *Denizon* of *Ireland*, *William Galt* the Owner, a Merchant of *London*, and natural born Subject; She was in her Voyage from *Rochel* to the *Sound*, taken in *April* laſt, by one Captain *Anthony*, and carried into *Calais*, all his Papers taken from him, alſo their Goods and Cloths, the Maſter ſtript naked, he and ſeveral of his Men, put in Priſon, and there deteined, till they had ſigned ſuch Papers as were tendred to them, being not allowed an Interpreter, by the Preſident of *Calais*, as was Sworn by the ſaid Maſter, before the Lords of the Commitee of Trade.

June 7*th.* 1676.

The *Hope* of *London*, *Engliſh* built, *Richard Milborne* Maſter; All the Mariners but one, Subjects to his Majeſty, had Paſſes and Sea-Briefs, Yet as ſhe entred into *Dover*, (within Gunſhot of the Caſtle) was ſeized by Captain *Bowen*, a Subject of his Majeſties, ſailing by *French* Commiſſion, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

June 7*th.* 1676.

The *Pellican* of *London*, *John Sanderſon* Maſter, *William Welch* and *John Swinton*, who are his Majeſties Subjects, Owners of Ship and Lading, is come from the *Terceras*, and being bound to *Amſterdam*, ſhe is taken and carried into *Dunkirk*.

June 14*th.* 1676.

The *Agatha*, Foreign built, 250 Tuns, Laden with Deals, at *Waterwick* in *Norway*; the Maſters name *John Peters*, a free *Denizon*, and the Ship and Goods belonging to *John Doril* and other Merchants who are *Engliſh*. But in her Voyage to *Amſterdam*, is taken as Prize.

June 21*ſt.* 1676.

The *James* of *London*, a free Ship, *John Williamſon* Maſter, the Owners all *Engliſh*, manned with 12 Engliſh and two Strangers, with a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty, and other neceſſary Teſtimonials. She was Laden with Salt and *Setubal*, and coming to *London*, was on the 28*th.* of *May*, within Gun-ſhot of *Dover* Caſtle ſeized and carried into *Calais*, the Ship run a-ground, the Back broke, and Men abuſed, and their Papers taken away.

June 25*th.* 1676.

The *Patrick* of *Waterford*, a Pink of 70 Tun, *John Tucker* Maſter, She was in *October* laſt taken by a Privateer of *Oſtend* from the *French*, carried into the *Groine*, condemned as Prize, bought by *Phillip Stafford* an *Engliſhman*, and there laden by him with Vinegar, Lemons and Oranges, and being ſent to *Rotterdam*, is taken near *Dover* Caſtle and carried into *Calais*, to his detriment of 484 *l.* as is ſworn before the Lords of the Commitee, by *Thomas Roſſeter*, his Majeſties Subject, and ſervant to the ſaid *Stafford*.

Julii

June 28*th.* 1676.

The *Reſolution* of *Poole*, *Engliſh* built, *Anthony Hart* Maſter, laden at *Pool* in *May* laſt, with Wheat, Barley and Rye, of the growth of the Kingdom, by *John Welchman* of *Chriſt Church* Merchant, ſole Owner thereof, to be delivered to his ſon at *Rotterdam*. She was taken in *May* by *Oliver Compin*, and carried into *Dunkirk*, though ſhe were *Engliſh* built and *Engliſh* Mariners aboard, had a Paſſe according to the late Regulation, and the Ship belonging to the Maſter and one *Thomas Barefoot*, and the parties concerned being Subjects to his Majeſty. All which hath been proved by authentick atteſtations, and upon Oath before the Lords of the Committee.

June 28*th.* 1676.

The *Peace* of *Dublin*, *George Adrianſon* Maſter, belonging to *William York*, and *Andrew Joyce*, his Majeſties Subjects, and by them laden at *Gorway* in *Ireland*, with raw Hides, Tallow, Leather, and other things, of the growth of that Country, conſigned to *William Eaton* of *Dover*, Merchant; had Bills of Lading, Sea-brief, and other neceſſary Papers aboard; Yet in *March* laſt, was near *Dover* ſeized by Captain *William Bowen*, Captain *Peter Vermill*, and *Sacret Long-ſchooten*; ſhe is carried into *Dunkirk*, to the Owners detriment of 1000 *l.* And the Ships Company were ſtript, plundered, and exceedingly abuſed by the ſaid *Bowen*.

June 6*th.* 1676.

The *Margaret* of *London*, 320 Tuns, foraign built but made free by warrant of the 14*th.* of *June* 1674. belonging to *Chamberlain Donne* Merchant of *London*, manned with *Engliſhmen*, all except two, and the Maſter, *John Chriſman* a free *Denizon*, ſhe is laden with Salt at *Rochel*, by order of *Chryſoſtome Hamilton*, and being bound for *Dantzick* had a Paſs under the King's hand, Counterſigned by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; Yet ſhe is taken, and carried into *Calais*, the 24*th.* of *June* laſt.

July 6*th.* 1676.

The *Judith* of *Dover*, belonging to *Abram Stock* Merchant of the place, is taken by Privateers of *France*, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

July 14*th.* 1676.

The St. *George* of *London*, *Henry Fairweather* Maſter, laden at *Chriſtiana* in *Norway*, by order of *George Turfrey* Merchant of *London*, ſole Owner of the Ship and Goods, and his Majeſtie's natural born Subject, ſhe was in her Courſe to *London*, met by the *Royall* of *Dunkirk*, Rifled and Plundered of what could readily be taken away, the Papers ſeized, and all carried into *Dunkirk*, where they were run a ſhore, and the Ship in Danger to be ſplit on the firſt change of weather, and the men very evilly treated.

June 20*th.* 1676.

The *Sheperdeſs* of *London*, 280 Tuns burthen, *Tyant Feeks* Maſter, a free *Denizon*, had his Majeſties Paſs, and ſayling from the *Fly* to *Norway*, was taken and carried into *Calais*. That the Ship and about 60 *l.* in money belongs to *Cornelius Van Alderwelt*, as is ſworn by the ſaid *Feeks*, and made out by all Papers found in the ſaid Ship.

July 10*th.* 1676.

The *Swan* of *London*, *John Richardſon* Maſter, Laden with Salt, Wine, Brandy and other Merchandize at *Nantz*, and bound for the *Baltick*. The Ship and Goods, ſolely belonged to *John Eyers*, and *Robert Tigh* Merchants, his Majeſties natural born Subjects. She was ſeized by Captain *Duranto*, carried into *Cherbrook*, her Bills of Lading, her Sea-brief, and other Papers torne from them, the ſhip plundered to the value of 250 *l.* in Goods, the Mariners impriſoned 16 dayes, all which is depoſed by him and others.

July 11*th.* 1676.

The *Orange Tree* of *Topſham*, *Samuel Sintall* of *Topſham* Maſter, Trading (for theſe 14 years) as a free ſhip of *England*, and ſo entred into the Cuſtom-Houſe of ſeveral Ports, and did belong to *Andrew Quaſh* of *Exeter*, and other Merchants of that Place; All the Mariners *En-*

gliſh, yet as ſhe was coming homewards from *Rotterdam*, was on the 12*th*. of *July* 1674. met near *Portland*, by Captain *Bedwyne*, and carried into *Sherbrook*. That beſides the loſs of Ship and Goods the Mariners are damnified to the value of 200 *l*. and the loſs of *three of their Lives*.

July 14*th*. 1676.

The *Margaret* of *London*, burden 200 Tuns, *William Lambert* a free *Denizon*, an Inhabitant of *Dover*, Maſter; having a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty, and manned according to the Act of Navigation, in her Voyage from *Rochell* (where ſhe took in her Lading of Salt) was on the 15*th*. of *June* laſt, taken by a *French* Privateer called the *Geometry*, *Peter Minack* Commander; and carried into St. *Maloes*, where ſhe is detained and the Maſter, and Seamen beaten and abuſed. All which is repreſented by *James Thierry* of *London* Merchant, his Majeſties Subject.

July 14*th*. 1676.

The *Welcome* of *London Engliſh* built, whereof *James Thierry* of *London* Merchant is ſole Owner, and *Zacharias Barton* Maſter, both his Majeſties Subjects, having taken in her Lading at *Santo Cruz* in *Barbary*, of Copper, Wax, and Almonds, on the account of *Gomes Rodrigues*, his Majeſties Subject and an Inhabitant of *London*, was on the 9*th*. of *June* laſt, within five miles of *Dover*, taken by one *Aren Johnſon* a *French* Privateer, and carried into *Dunkirk*, where they are ſtill detained. The ſaid Ship had a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty and a Sea-brief from the Major of *Southampton*, and manned with his Majeſties Subjects, one excepted, all which hath appeared by Oath and Certificates.

June 28*th*. 1676.

The *Charity* of *London*, a Prize Ship made free, *Robert Cotton* Maſter, Navigated by *Engliſhmen*, was fraighted with a parcell of Salt at *Dartmouth*, by Maſter *Tucker* of *Lyme* Merchant, and conſigned to his Brother *Samuel Tucker* at *Rotterdam*, and on her Voyage thither, about the 14*th* of *April* laſt near *Dungeneſſe*, ſhe was ſeized, by a *French* Caper, one *Gellitan* Commander, and carried into *Dunkirk*. That the ſaid Veſſel appertaines to the Lady *Holeroſt*, his Majeſties Natural born Subject, as alſo are both the before named *Tuckers*. And the ſaid *Cotton* depoſes that he believes no ſtranger directly or indirectly, had any Intereſt in the Ship and Lading, when ſhe was ſeized.

June 3*d*. 1676.

The *Two Brothers* of *London*, *Thomas Peachy* Maſter, burthen 100 Tuns, belonging unto *William Miles*, and *Edmond Peachy* of *London*, Merchants, was Laden with Corn at *Burdeaux*, for the proper account of *James Verſpreet*, and *Francis Vandenbrack*, alſo of *London* Merchants, and in her Voyage from thence to *Rotterdam*, ſhe was taken at Sea near *Dover*, abouth the 12*th*. of *December* laſt, by Captain *John Pollet* of *Calais*, and carried in there, Notwithſtanding her Paſſes from the Lords of the Admiralty, the Lord Mayor and the *French* Admiral of *Burdeaux*. That alſo the ſaid Veſſel, and Lading, was after three months ſuit diſcharged, yet the Intereſſents are really damaged, through the periſhing of their Corn, and all other Charges, to the value of 759 *l*. as appeared on Oath taken before Sir *Robert Viner*.

An additional Liſt of Ships belonging to English *Merchants, and taken by* French *Privateers, touching which, Application hath been made to Mr. Secretary* Coventry *only.*

THE *New Exchange* of *London*, Foreign built, but belonging to *William York*, of *Lymrick*, *Anthony Vernier* Maſter, in her Courſe from *Burdeaux* to *Dunkirk*, was taken and carried into *Calais*.

The *Charles* of *Dartmouth*, *Andrew Hacker* Maſter, belonging to *John Whitethrow* of *Dartmouth* Merchant; She was Laden with Corn, bound to *Saint Sabaſtian*, but taken and carried into *Saint John de Luz*. Reſtored.

The

The Ship *North Caper* of *Rotterdam*, Laden with Timber, on account of ſome Merchants in *Dublin*, taken within the Bar of *Dublin* by a *French* Privateer of *Breſt*, called *Gellin*, and carried thither.

The Ship *Young William*, Foreign built, burthen 100 Tuns, *Thomas Vough* Maſter; belonging to *William York* of *Lymerick*, bound for *Bilboa*, manned with his Majeſties Subjects, having a Sea-Brief on Board of her, taken and carried into *Breſt*, by a Privateer of that Place. Reſtored.

The *James*, belonging to Sir *Thomas Allen* and others, burden 30 Tuns, *Robert Dilworth* Maſter, bound from *Burdeaux* to *Amſterdam*, provided with ſufficient Certificates, all her men *Engliſh*, taken and carried unto *Calais*. Reſtored.

The *King's Fiſher* Dogger, *Engliſh* built, *John Johnſon* Maſter, taken by *Peter Caſteau*, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

The *May-Flower*, *Simon Corben* Maſter, belonging to *George Tyte*, *Benjamin Peak*, and other Merchants of *London*, and though ſhe had a Paſs, from the Lords of the Admiralty, was *Engliſh* Built, and manned with *Engliſh*, yet ſhe was taken and carried into *Cherbrook*.

A Continuation of a Liſt of Ships belonging to English *Merchants, and taken by* French *Privateers, touching which Application hath been made to the Lords of the Committee for Trade.*

Auguſt 3d. 1676.

THE *Sherwood* of *Boſton*, *Matthew Burchinal* his Majeſties natural born Subject Maſter, bought at *Amſterdam* about *April* laſt, and being bound from thence to *New-caſtle*, was, about the 20th of *July* laſt in her Courſe thither, taken by a *French* Privateer, *Nicholas Hayes* Commander, and carried into *Dunkirk*, where ſhe is detayned, and threatned to be ſpeedily confiſcated, notwithſtanding that by the Bill of ſale and other Papers, which the ſaid Caper is now poſſeſſed of, it doth evidently appear that the ſaid Ship doth truly belong to the Lord *Sherwood Charles Bertice* Eſquire, *John Wood* and other his Majeſties Subjects, and to no Foreigners.

Auguſt 3d. 1676.

The *Succeſs* of *London*, *Stephen Holden* Maſter, being bound from *Rhochel* to *Riga*, was lately ſeized on by a *French* Privateer, belonging to *Calais*, and carried into that Port, where ſhe is ſtill detained, although ſhe bee a free Ship, and was navigated wholly by *Engliſhmen*, and furniſhed with a Paſs according to the late Regulation, and together with her Lading doth entirely belong unto *Thomas Kayton*, *William Riden*, *William Preſcot Edmond Belitha*, Mr. *Benjamin Ayloffe*, and *Henry Houſwell*, and others of his Majeſties Subjects.

Auguſt 8th. 1676.

The *Hopewell*, *Valentine Archer* Commander, was on the 12th. of *May* 1674. met by a *French* Privateer called *la Renown*, *Monſieur le Monie* Commander, who took out of her diverſe Commodities of a conſiderable value, belonging to *Brune Rives* and *Richard Barker*, who after much charge and trouble got a Sentence in *France* for the reſtitution of their Goods, but could never obtain Execution thereof notwithſtanding their conſtant endeavours and application.

Auguſt 3d. 1676.

The *Golden Lyon* of *Syrdam* a Dutch Ship, having on Board 309 Hogſheads of *Sugar*, belonging to *Rowland Simpſon* his Majeſties Subject, was in *December* 1674. taken by a *French* Privateer called the *Golden Fleece*, *Bernard le Moine* Commander, and carried into *Milford Haven*, where by a Warrant out of the high Court of Admiralty, the Prize was taken in arreſt, and in cuſtody of the Officers of the Admiralty; But the ſaid *Bernard Le Moine* did, by violating the ſaid Arreſt, and the protection of his Majeſties Port, make Priſoners of the Officers of the Admiralty, and carried the Prize, together with the Sugars belonging to his Majeſties Subjects into *France*, where he diſpoſed thereof at his own Will and Pleaſure.

Auguſt

Auguſt 3d. 1676.

The *Lilly Dogger* of *London*, *John Fiſher* Maſter, his Majeſties Subject, in return from *Virginia* was met by two *French* Ships, which without reſpect to the *Engliſh* Colours there flying, fired ſeveral times on the ſaid *Dogger*, and afterwards going on Board plundered to the value of at leaſt 1000 weight of Tobacco, and then diſmiſſed the *Dogger*, with this inſolent expreſſion, *Go and tell your King of it.*

Auguſt 8th. 1676.

The *Mary* of *Leverpool*, an *Engliſh* Ship, *Thomas Blunden* Maſter, fraighted by *Thomas Niſbet* Merchant of *York*, and conſigned from *Narva* to his Factor at *Rotterdam*, was in her Courſe thither, taken by a *French* Privateer, and carried into *Dunkirk*, where ſhe is ſtill detained with the Lading, notwithſtanding ſhe was furniſhed with a Cuſtom-houſe Paſs, and a Paſs in purſuance of the Treaty of *Denmark*, dated about the 10th. of *April* laſt.

A LIST of other Ships taken by French *Privateers.*

July 6th. 1676.

THE *William* of *Yarmouth*, *John Littlewood* Maſter, whereof *James Symonds* is ſole Owner, being bound from *Hamborough* to *Burdeaux*, was about the 10th. of *May* laſt, taken by a *French* Privateer, whereof one Captain *Duranto* was Commander, and carried into *Cherbrook*.

Auguſt 13th. 1676.

The *Barbadoes*, *Merchant* of *Briſtol*, whereof *Abraham Sanders*, *John Walter*, and other Merchants of *Briſtol*, are Laders and Owners, being bound from thence to *Bilboa*, was about the firſt of *June* laſt, ſeized by *French* Privateers of *Bayon*, and carried into that Port, notwithſtanding the ſaid Ship is *Engliſh* built, and was wholly Navigated by *Engliſhmen*, bore an *Engliſh* Flagg, and was furniſhed with all neceſſary Papers and Paſſes purſuant to the late Regulation.

Auguſt 31ſt. 1676.

The *William* of *London*, belonging unto *William King* and *Robert de la Maine*, in her Voyage from *Southampton* to *London*, about the 16th. of *July* laſt, near *Beech*, was by Captain *James Martyne*, a *French* Privateer carried into *Facan* in *Normandy*, and is there detained; notwithſtanding the ſaid Ship was provided with a Paſs from the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty. The Owners have depoſed the Ship and Goods to be worth at leaſt 800 *l.*

September 4th. 1676.

The *Mary Pink* of *London*, whereof *John Gibbs*, *Nicholas Kempſtone*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants Owners, having lately been built at *Shoram*, and manned with all *Engliſh Men* was carried into *Dunkirk* on the 6th. of *Auguſt* by a *French* Privateer.

September 4th. 1676.

The *Little Samuel* of *London*, whoſe Owners and Laders are all his Majeſties Subjects, was in her Courſe from *Rouen* to *London*, on the 14th. of *Auguſt* laſt, met by a *French* Privateer, and carried into *Calais*, although the ſaid Hoy was manned wholly with *Engliſh* (except one *French* boy) and had a Paſs from the Lords of the Admiralty perſuant to the late Regulation.

September 4th. 1676.

The *Endeavour* of *Plymouth*, *Thomas Rowſe* Maſter, belonging together with her Lading to his Majeſties Subjects, was in the 15th. of *Auguſt* laſt in her Courſe to *Amſterdam*, taken by a *French* Privateer, called the *Brave*, whereof one *La Lander* is commander, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

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